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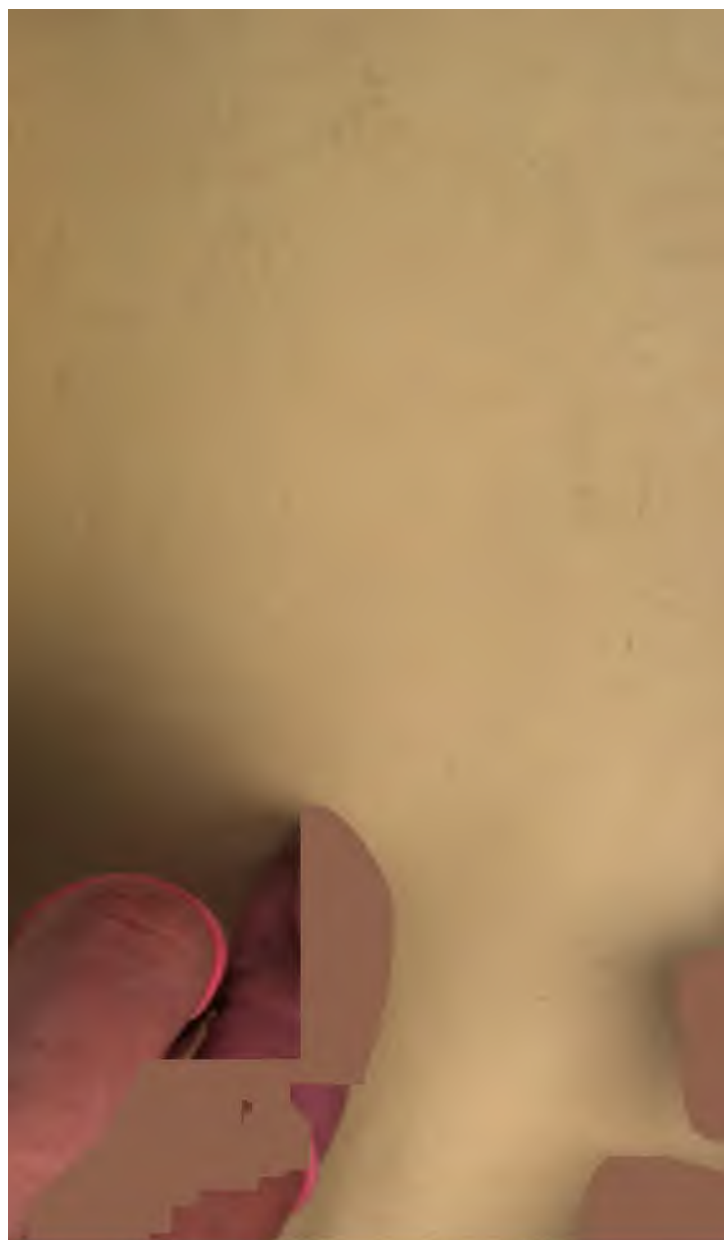


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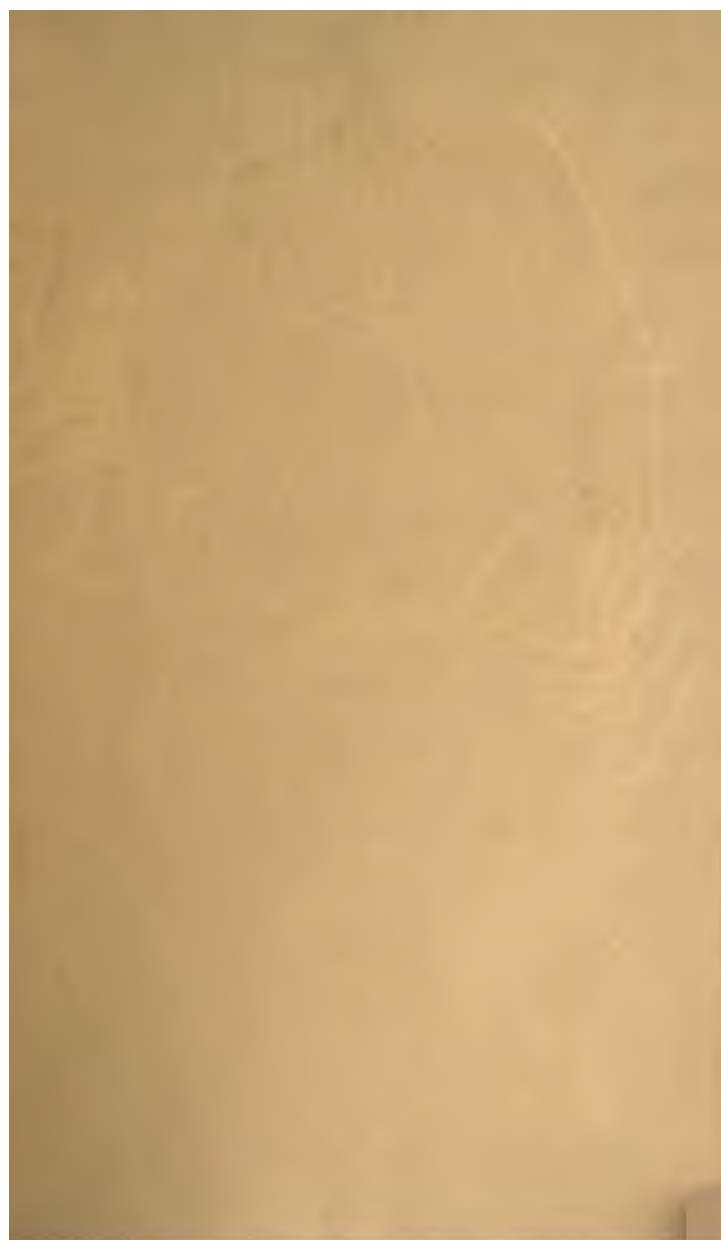


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**HISTORY**  
**OF**  
**THE CONVOCATION OF THE CHURCH**  
**OF ENGLAND.**



A HISTORY  
OF THE  
CONVOCAATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:  
BEING AN  
ACCOUNT OF THE PROCEEDINGS  
OF  
ANGLICAN ECCLESIASTICAL COUNCILS  
FROM  
THE EARLIEST PERIOD.  
BY  
THE REV. THOMAS LATHBURY, M.A.,  
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH EPISCOPACY, &c.,"  
"THE SPANISH ARMADA," &c.

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## PREFACE.

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It has long struck me very forcibly, that the great majority of the clergy, as well as the lay members of the Church of England, were but very imperfectly acquainted with the history and proceedings of the Convocation. Some clergymen have spoken against the revival of the meetings of Convocation in such a manner as to make it evident, that the subject was one of which they knew very little, while many others, with whom I have conversed, have frankly confessed, that they really were ignorant of the matter. My object, therefore, has been, without pretending to more than ordinary care and diligence in the selection of materials from those sources which are open to all, to give a succinct and connected history of the proceedings of Anglican Ecclesiastical Councils from the earliest period.

In looking back upon our ecclesiastical history, there are certain divisions, which are naturally made by those, who enter upon the study. Thus, in the following pages, I have first given a brief,



though I hope a sufficiently comprehensive, sketch of British councils; then of those subsequent to the arrival of Augustine, down to the period of the Norman invasion, or those of the Anglo-Saxon period. After this time a considerable change took place. The pope's power gradually advanced, notwithstanding the occasional checks interposed by some of our more spirited sovereigns. In the account, therefore, of councils, from the Norman invasion until the Reformation, the reader will be able to trace the progress of the papal usurpation.

The reign of Henry VIII. is a very important period in the history of the Church in England. I have, therefore, dwelt at some length on the acts of this reign, by which the power of the pope was broken down, and which paved the way for the Reformation under King Edward. The particulars, too, respecting the Act of Submission—that act which changed the character of English councils, and by which the Convocation is still regulated—are detailed with considerable minuteness. At this stage, too, inasmuch as no change has since been made, the constitution and powers of the Convocation are stated.

Subsequent to this reign, the history of the Convocation embraces almost the entire history of the Church, since all the principal matters were considered and settled in that assembly. Every

important circumstance in our ecclesiastical history, therefore, will be found in this volume, especially those which have any connexion with our Formularies, and the Canons by which the Anglican Church is governed. I refer the reader especially to the account of the proceedings in Convocation in 1604 on the Canons, and to those of 1661 on the Book of Common Prayer.

After the Revolution a scene of a different description is opened. The harmony and unity, which had usually subsisted between the two houses, were interrupted: and the history of the Convocation from that period is one continued series of contentions between the bishops and the inferior clergy. I have endeavoured to detail the events, and also to describe the points of controversy, with the strictest impartiality. To enable me to render this portion of my volume as complete as possible, I have carefully perused the greater part of the numerous tracts and volumes, which were called forth by the various controversies that originated between the years 1689 and 1717, the period when the last synodical acts were performed. Few persons are aware of the number of those productions. At the same time, they are necessary to a full view of the subject treated of in this volume.

In the concluding chapter I have endeavoured

to show that no valid objection can be alleged against the revival of convocational business. To this chapter I wish to direct particular attention. The revival could not be attended with danger: for though some persons might wish to innovate, the majority would be determined to preserve our Liturgy and our Formularies. Neither could the deliberations of this assembly hamper or annoy the Government, even were some of the clergy inclined to adopt extreme or absurd views, since it would be always in the power of the Crown to interpose a check to their proceedings. I have shown how many advantages would result from the meeting of Convocation: how many matters might be arranged which cannot be settled in any other place: and I have ventured to suggest certain topics for consideration, should the Crown permit them to assemble.

It will be admitted, that at this moment the question is one of more than ordinary importance. One circumstance may be mentioned as a proof, that the subject is attracting unusual attention, namely, the high price at which all the old works on the subject are now sold, and the eagerness with which they are sought after: whereas ten or fifteen years ago such books could scarcely find purchasers. The public mind has been awakened to a sense of the importance of extending the

Church among our dense population. It is evident too, that the great mass of the people are sincerely attached to the Church, while it is equally evident, that dissent is in most places on the decrease. That the Church, therefore, is to be the grand means by which our population are to be rescued from ignorance, is generally admitted: and yet the Church has no opportunity of putting forth her views at this important crisis, because the Convocation is not permitted to proceed to business. I have, I trust, shown in these pages, that the measure is absolutely necessary; and also that it is perfectly safe. Nor can I believe, that Her Majesty's Government would refuse to advise the Crown to submit to the consideration of Convocation such matters, as in their judgment might be desirable, if the bishops and clergy were to express an opinion in favour of the revival. My hope is that this volume may meet the eye of some of our prelates, and be the humble means of directing their attention to the subject. I earnestly and anxiously call upon our archbishops and bishops, to take the whole question into their most serious consideration.

BATH, *May* 10, 1842.

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A HISTORY  
OF THE  
CONVOCAION OF THE CHURCH  
OF ENGLAND.

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CHAPTER I.—A.D. 596.

Introduction. Antiquity of Anglican Church. Origin of Councils. Diocesan, Provincial, National, and General Councils. The first seven General Councils. British Councils. Troubles consequent on the coming of the Saxons. State of the British Church at that time.

AFTER the Saviour's ascension to glory, it became necessary for his servants the Apostles, and those who were associated with them in their labours, to assemble together at intervals, in order to decide on the various circumstances of the Church. Necessity, therefore, originated ecclesiastical synods and councils. Thus, at a very early period a council was convened at Jerusalem, as recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*, in which various matters were discussed: and from that time the ministers of the Church, to whom the power of ecclesiastical government was intrusted by the Saviour, have had their assemblies or councils for the management of those important concerns which were committed to their superintendence. The first council was, as we have seen, held in Jerusalem: for this was the place where the Gospel was first preached, and from which the

Apostles went forth to make known the glad tidings of salvation to a ruined world. When, however, the Gospel was extended, and Churches were planted in other and distant countries, it became necessary for the ministers to meet together to conduct the affairs of the Church in their respective provinces or districts, since it was not possible to repair on all occasions to Jerusalem. At an early period Churches were planted in distant lands: and these Churches had the management of their own affairs, discipline, and government, as established by the Saviour, and therefore not mutable, being the same in all.

From these remarks the origin of provincial and national councils will be seen. In the process of time, indeed, as we shall show in the course of this history, the Church of Rome claimed a jurisdiction over all other Churches on the ground of an alleged commission given to St. Peter, and descending from him to all the Bishops of Rome in succession, who arrogated to themselves the title and privileges of Universal Pastors; but this claim was resisted for centuries by many other Churches. Nor was it ever allowed by the whole of Christendom; and even in the Western Churches, over which at one time the Pope's power appeared to be firmly established, it was imposed against their wishes by a combination of circumstances, which will partly appear as we proceed, so that the papal jurisdiction was nothing more than a usurpation. From that usurpation the Anglican Church was delivered at the Reformation, when she began to manage her own affairs, in her own councils, in accordance with the primitive practice, which was opposed to anything like a spiritual sovereignty at Rome, or even at Jerusalem or

Antioch; whose claims, had such a claim been legitimate, must have been much stronger than those of the Roman Pontiff, since in one the Saviour himself preached, and at the other the name of Christian was first adopted. There are Churches also in the East, Churches established by the Apostles, over which the Bishop of Rome never exercised any authority. The Pope's power originated in an unholy league with the Roman Emperor, who, to serve his own interests, permitted the Bishop of Rome first to claim the title of Universal Pastor, and to exercise authority over other Churches in the empire. There were however Churches, not within the boundaries of the empire, which were never brought into subjection, and which still exist as independent Churches, and are so many living witnesses of the fallacy of the papal claim to universal sovereignty. Attempts, indeed, were not wanting to reduce these Churches to obedience to the see of Rome; but they were fruitless. By Rome these Churches are designated Schismatics; but the name does not prove the fact. They were never in communion with Rome; consequently they are not chargeable with separation; though were such actually the case, the guilt of schism would not have been incurred, since the papal claims have no foundation either in the Word of God or in the practice of the Primitive Church.

On the ground of antiquity of foundation our own Church has as much to plead as Rome. With respect to doctrines, Rome has no claim to antiquity, for her peculiar tenets are all of modern invention, while those points in her creed which are ancient are virtually abrogated by her additions to the apostolic faith. The

advocates of the papacy affirm that we received the Gospel from Rome. Were such the case it would afford no argument for the papal supremacy in England, unless it could be proved that the doctrine was revealed in Holy Scripture. Such authority was never granted to any Church or any bishop, consequently the Pope's plea is groundless. Waiving, however, this question, for the present, we maintain, that in point of priority of establishment, the Church in Britain is more ancient than the Church of Rome. The year 44 is fixed upon by Baronius as the period of the introduction of the Gospel into Rome by St. Peter\*. It is very doubtful whether St. Peter was ever at Rome,—so doubtful, indeed, that the circumstance cannot be stated as a matter of fact; though, had he visited that city, the Pope's claim would not have been established†. But Gildas, who is as much entitled to credit as Baronius, states that the Gospel was introduced into Britain A.D. 39, five years prior to its introduction into Rome. Of course it is by no means easy to determine the year of its introduction, or who was the first preacher: but the difficulties are equally great with respect to Rome. We do not build any argument on the alleged fact that St. Paul preached the Gospel in Britain; but we contend, that the evidence on the point is stronger than any that can be adduced to prove, that St. Peter was at Rome‡. It is, however, a well ascertained fact, that the Gospel was introduced in the apostolic age, and by apostolic men. It is also certain that it was brought hither from Judea, and not from Rome: and it is probable that the latter city had not received the glad

\* BARONIUS, i., 364, 365. † GIBSON'S *Preservative*.

‡ COLLIER, i., 3, 5.



tidings when they were first promulgated on our shores. That Christianity was received from the East, and not from the West, is proved by the various differences which were found to exist between Augustine and the British bishops. It was found that the British bishops observed the Eastern and not the Roman method of keeping Easter, and that their mode of administering baptism differed from that which had been adopted by the Church of Rome\*. The differences existed in 731, when Bede closed his history. In the year 591, before the mission of Augustine, Gregory, the then bishop of Rome, on being told that certain children from Britain were exposed to sale, did not know whether the country was Christian or pagan,—a circumstance which certainly proves that the present claim was at that time unknown.

The fact of a difference in certain rites and ceremonies is very remarkable. It shows undoubtedly that England was not indebted to Rome for the first introduction of the Gospel. On the principle, indeed, of priority of foundation, the Church of Rome must have yielded to the Church of Jerusalem or the Church of Antioch. The truth is, that the matter is of little consequence; but when the Romanists are continually putting forth extravagant pretensions, grounded on such sandy foundations, it becomes necessary to place such matters in their true light. At the same time it is a pleasing reflection, that the Gospel was probably preached in Britain before its sound was heard in the imperial city.

\* BEDE, l. iii., c. 25. Bede gives an account of the discussions on the subject. See also TWISDEN's *Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, p. 7.

It is foreign to my purpose to enlarge upon the general history of the Church of England. The plan, which I have marked out, embraces the history of ecclesiastical councils: so that those subjects only will be discussed which bear either directly or indirectly on the objects contemplated in this volume. English ecclesiastical councils present, especially at the present moment, an interesting field of inquiry: and it will be my aim to treat the subject in such a manner as to render the work generally useful.

Before I proceed, however, to detail the particulars respecting British councils, the reader must be made acquainted with the character of councils in general. A few preliminary remarks on this point are necessary to a full comprehension of the various matters detailed in this volume.

In all communities, assemblies for deliberation and consultation are necessary. The Church is a society: and, as has been remarked, she soon felt the necessity of councils or meetings for consultation on her affairs. The Gospel was soon propagated in various parts of the world: and even the inspired Apostles were glad to take counsel together. If then the Apostles of our Lord were glad to meet together, for their mutual benefit as well as for the general good, it was not to be supposed that their successors in the ministry, men uninspired, though animated with the same ardour in their Master's cause, should not need the counsel and co-operation of each other. In such a state of things did ecclesiastical councils originate. Besides, the Lord had given authority to his Apostles to administer the affairs of the Church,—not to one Apostle in particular, or to each one individually to act independently of the

rest,—but to all of them collectively for the general good.

The first Christian councils after that mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles were *diocesan*. Into the question of episcopacy I shall not enter in this work. It is sufficient to remark that the evidence of its apostolical institution is of such a character that it cannot be resisted by unprejudiced persons. The Apostles appointed bishops as their successors in the Church, to whom was committed its government and superintendence, and to whom the presbyters were to be subject in all things lawful. In all cities and important districts, bishops, with a larger or smaller jurisdiction, were fixed as soon as the Church was settled: and as they needed counsel and advice, they were accustomed to assemble their presbyters, with whom they discussed the various affairs of their dioceses. Thus the first Christian assemblies, subsequent to the death of the Apostles, were diocesan synods or councils. They consisted of the bishop of a diocese, with a certain number of presbyters, either elected by the diocesan, or chosen by the body of the clergy as their representatives. For a long period all bishops were equal in authority, since patriarchs and archbishops, to whom was intrusted the superintendence of several provinces and dioceses, were not known in the Church until the end of the third, or the commencement of the fourth century. Each diocese, therefore, in early times, was independent, the bishop and his council managing its affairs, subject of course to the word of God, and to the discipline and government established by the Apostles. The decisions of diocesan synods were obligatory on all within the boundaries of the diocese, having the



force of ecclesiastical laws: nor did any other councils exist until many years after the first establishment of the Christian Church\*.

At length, however, when the Gospel had spread over a wide extent, and when converts were so multiplied that many dioceses were constituted, the bishops became anxious to consult their brethren of the same order for their mutual benefit. The bishops, therefore, of a certain district met together, and such assemblies were designated *provincial synods* or *councils*. They were the next in order to the diocesan synods. The Roman empire, too, was divided into provinces; and as the Church usually adopted the same divisions, the provincial synod consisted of the bishops, with perhaps some of the presbyters, of any particular province. Over such assemblies the archbishop of the province usually presided. The remark will apply also to patriarchs: for as archbishops presided in the synods of their respective provinces, so patriarchs, to whom was intrusted the superintendence of perhaps several districts, with their respective archbishops and bishops, presided in those councils which were convened within their jurisdiction. Provincial synods therefore originated, as well as diocesan, in the necessities of the Church. Many cases arose, which the bishop in his diocese did not feel competent to decide, and in such circumstances he naturally sought the aid of his brethren: and thus provincial synods became more or less frequent according to the exigencies of the Church†.

In process of time, however, when the Roman empire became Christian, embracing within its vast extent the larger portion of the civilized world, and comprehend-

\* KENNET'S *Synods*, 198.

† *Ibid.*, 199.

ing many nations, which, though subject to one head, were yet governed by tributary kings, other councils were convened, which were termed *national* councils. At length the Roman empire was broken into various parts, several independent kingdoms arising, so that the bishops and clergy in each separate country naturally met together to deliberate on the affairs of the Church within their own limits. Such was the origin of *national synods*. They differed from the preceding in several respects; for while the *diocesan synod* consisted of the bishop and his presbyters, and the *provincial council* was composed of all the bishops in a particular province, under the presidency of the patriarch or the archbishop, the *national synod* comprehended all the archbishops and bishops, with certain associated presbyters, of a particular state or country. It was still competent for the bishop to hold his *diocesan synod*, or for the archbishop to summon his *provincial council*; but it was necessary that all the archbishops and bishops in any independent state, should occasionally be assembled in a *national council* to deliberate for the general good\*.

But besides these, other councils of a still more extensive description, in which the Church Universal, scattered all over the world, was represented by its prelates, were held at intervals, as the circumstances of the Church might require. These were termed *general* or *œcumenical councils*, because the Universal Church was represented in them, and bound by their decisions†.

General councils were originally called by the Roman emperors, but at length the Pope claimed and exercised the power of summoning them, and presided in them by his legates. The various steps by which the Bishops

\* KENNET'S *Synods*, 199, 200.

† *Ibid.*, 200.

of Rome arrived at that state of pre-eminence will be seen in the course of our history\*.

The *first* general council was summoned by the Emperor Constantine, and met at Nice, A.D. 325. It was convened against Arius and his followers, who denied the divinity of the Saviour.

The *second* was held at Constantinople under the Emperor Theodosius the Elder, A.D. 381. Macedonius denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and to oppose this heresy the council was assembled.

The *third* met at Ephesus under Theodosius the Younger, A.D. 431. It was summoned to check the heresy of Nestorius, who asserted that our Lord was a mere man.

The *fourth* was convened by the Emperor Marcianus, A.D. 451, at Chalcedon, against certain heretics, who maintained that there was only one nature in Christ.

The *fifth* was assembled at Constantinople by the Emperor Justinian, A.D. 553, against some of the followers of Origen, who held the notion of a transmigration of souls, that the torments of hell were temporary, and that devils would at last be saved.

The *sixth* also took place at Constantinople, A.D. 680, under the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus. It was summoned for the purpose of checking the heresy of those who asserted that there was only one will in the Lord Jesus Christ.

The *seventh* was convened at Nice, A.D. 787, by the Empress Irene, her son Constantine being then a minor. This was the first council in which any erroneous practice was established. It sanctioned the use of images in churches.

\* WAKE'S *Authority of Christian Princes*, 14, 15.



These seven councils were received by the Eastern and Western Churches; but though many others were convened in subsequent ages by the Popes, yet they were never recognised by the Greek Church. In short, no other councils were strictly general, since the Eastern Church was not represented. When the empire was divided, the Popes, who had already acquired considerable power, contended that it was their privilege, as successors of St. Peter, to summon councils. This claim was resisted by the Churches in the East: and therefore the councils, which were summoned by papal authority, during several succeeding ages, and which are designated General Councils, had no right whatever to the title, since they were composed of those only who acknowledged the papal supremacy.

That the Anglican Church had her *diocesan*, *provincial*, and *national synods*, from a very early period, is a well attested fact. The bishops assembled their presbyters in their respective dioceses; the archbishops their suffragans in their provinces; and the whole body of prelates, with some of the clergy, were occasionally called together by our Christian princes in national synods. Nor had the Pope any authority for ages in the councils of the Church of England. The Church in this country retained her independence, until it was wrested from her by the power of the papal see. At the Reformation she succeeded in regaining her independence, nor has the Bishop of Rome exercised authority in England since the time of Queen Mary.

Having offered these preliminary observations respecting councils in general, I shall now proceed to give a historical narration of ecclesiastical councils in England, according to their chronological order. Diocesan synods

were undoubtedly held in England, though the records of the earliest do not exist. Provincial councils, too, were probably convened long before those, the memoirs of which have been preserved. In early times learning was at such a low ebb, that many events occurred of which no record was made, and which were forgotten when the generation by whom they were witnessed had passed away. The remains, however, of our early councils are not only interesting in a historical point of view, as exhibiting the independence of the Anglican Church, but they are sufficient to enable us to come to a satisfactory conclusion respecting the orthodoxy of our ancestors prior to the papal usurpation.

It is a remarkable circumstance that the first Christian king, the first sovereign who embraced the Gospel, was a native of, and reigned in, Britain: and Christianity was established in England before it was established in the Empire.

A.D. 446.—The first council, of which any record remains, was summoned this year at Verulam, now St. Alban's. The occasion was as follows:—Pelagius, a native of Britain, had propagated his opinions respecting the human will, which were totally at variance with Holy Scripture and the doctrines generally received in the Church. To check the errors of Pelagianism, therefore, the Council of Verulum was summoned\*. It appears that his opinions were introduced into this country by Agricola, one of his disciples†. Two bishops came over to England from the Continent to manage the dispute against the advocates of the heresy,

\* HODY, 14.

† SPELMAN'S *Concilia*, tom. i., 47; COLLIER, i., 42.

the Britons not feeling themselves competent to undertake the task. Germanus and Lupus, the two prelates who came over from Gaul, appear to have acquitted themselves with great credit. The fullest permission was conceded to the supporters of the heresy to state and defend their views. "*Copiam disputandi proponendique adversariis præbuerunt loquacitatisque garritum evomere permiserunt, qui sola nuditate verborum, diu et inaniter, audientium aures cum temporibus occuparunt* \*." Not only were the clergy present, but the people, as spectators of the debate. Thus we read, "*Collecta itaque apud Verolanium synodo, immensa multitudo virorum etiam cum conjugibus et liberis illuc excitata convenerat*." And again, "*Aderat populus, expectabatur futurus iudex, adstabant partes dispari conditione consimiles, inde divina fides, hinc humana presumptio, inde Christus, hinc Pelagius author per-versa pravitas*." We are informed by Bede that the bishops convicted the advocates of the views of Pelagius of error, to the satisfaction of the assembly. "*Populus arbiter vix manus continet, iudicium cum clamore contestando*†." These particulars, meagre as they are, concerning the first national ecclesiastical council in England, are highly interesting to all who feel pleasure in tracing the history of the Church from its primary establishment in the British Isles.

A.D. 449.—A council was held this year; but the

\* *BED.*, i., 17.

† *BED.*, i., 17. *SPELMAN*, i., 48. *LABB. et COSS.*, tom. iii., 1464—1465. There is some difficulty in fixing the exact year in which this Council was held. The various periods assigned by different authorities are mentioned by Spelman, who follows Matthew of Westminster in placing it in the year 446, as in the text.



records of its proceedings are even more scanty than those of the preceding. It was summoned in order that means might be devised to check the Pelagian heresy, and also that the case of King Vortigern, who had married his own daughter, might be considered and decided. It is clear, therefore, that the British Church took an active part in checking the errors which had produced such pernicious effects in many parts of the Christian world. The council acted with great boldness, for the king was condemned. "*Damnatur a Beato Germano et omni concilio Britonum*.\*" The Pelagian heresy had been revived since the preceding council; a few active persons laboured to propagate it; and the clergy applied again to Germanus to undertake the task of refuting the disseminators of the errors.

It may appear strange, that the records of these and other early British councils should be so scanty. In all probability many synods were held, of which we have no remains at all, but in forming an estimate of the state of religion in Britain at this early period, we must not forget the peculiar circumstances, in which the British Church was placed. When the country was deserted by the Romans, it became exposed to the perpetual ravages of the Picts and Scots, so that the Church could not enjoy anything like peace or prosperity. In these circumstances the Britons called in the Saxons to their aid, who soon proved to be as dangerous enemies as those whom they had expelled. Within a comparatively short period, indeed, the Saxons seized upon the territories of the Britons, whom they came to assist, and compelled them to betake themselves for

\* SPELMAN, tom. i., 49; BED., i., 21; HODY, 14, 15; LABB. et COSS., tom. iii., 1474.

shelter to the mountains of Cornwall and Wales. Such was the case with the majority, and those who remained in their own land became the subjects of their conquerors. Christianity, therefore, was professed in secret, while assemblies for worship, to say nothing of synods for deliberation, were seldom held. And although some councils were from time to time convened, as the circumstances of the Church permitted, yet the writers, who subsequently undertook to treat of the ecclesiastical affairs of Britain, being anxious to exalt the credit of the Church of Rome, either passed over such matters altogether, or touched upon them very slightly in their narratives. Such was the case with Bede, of whom, in allusion to this period, Spelman remarks, "*Exiguum etiam illud quod in Ecclesia Britannorum gestum est ante adventum Augustini, præterit aut omnino Beda, aut delibavit parcius*.\*"

Having offered these remarks on the period now under review, I shall proceed to collect such scattered notices as exist respecting British councils previous to the arrival of Augustine. It has been observed that the records, in consequence of the troubles of the country, are very scanty. A council of the clergy and laity appears to have been held in 465, when Aurelius Ambrosius was raised to the throne in the room of Vortigern†. This was some years after the Saxons had been invited over, so that we may conclude that at this time the Church enjoyed a short interval of peace. The Saxons, it seems, arrived in the year 449 or 450‡. Lands were assigned them by Vortigern,

\* SPELMAN, i., 47.

† SPELMAN, i., 60; LABB. et COSS., tom. iv., 105.

‡ COLLIER, i., 52.



on condition of their assistance against the Picts and Scots, and for a few years comparative tranquillity was the result. At length, however, quarrels ensued, which issued in wars between the Britons and the Saxons, in which the latter were usually victorious. The seven Saxon kingdoms were established at various periods, the British kings being confined to Cornwall and Wales.

During these troublous times it is by no means easy to ascertain the precise state of the British Church. A convention of the clergy and nobles was assembled by Aurelius Ambrosius, about the year 491, at the erection of *Stone Henge*, in memory of the nobility slain by Hengist the Saxon\*. At this time two metropolitans were appointed to the sees of York and Caer-Leon, the latter being filled by Dubritius, the former by Sampson. According to some authorities, the same sovereign, Ambrosius, assembled a council at York, after he had defeated the Saxons, in which it was ordered that the churches, which had been defaced in the wars, should be repaired and restored†.

A.D. 516.—This year we find a council mentioned of some celebrity. It was assembled on occasion of the coronation of King Arthur. Its designation may serve to point out its character. “*Conventus celeberrimus omnium Potestatum Britanniae, viz., archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, &c.*” At this council Dubritius resigned his archbishopric, in consequence of the infirmities of age, and David, the king’s uncle, was elevated to that dignity‡.

Soon after another synod was assembled at Brevi,

\* SPELMAN, i., 60, 61; HODY, 15. † COLLIER, i., 58.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 61; LABB. et COSS., iv., 1562.

in Wales, the Britons having retired from England. The Pelagian controversy still existed, and the subject was debated in this council. Some authors state, that this was the council at which Dubritius resigned the archiepiscopal see. There is much confusion, however, about this period. The bishops, abbots, lords, and people, were present\*. Again, it is stated, that the Synod of Brevi met A.D. 519; and that David was now appointed to succeed Dubritius, who had resigned three years before. This supposition reconciles the two accounts. Dubritius may have resigned in 516, and David may have been appointed at Brevi in 519. The title, however, as it stands in Spelman, states that the council was held by David the archbishop; but I conceive, that it might have been assigned to that prelate, though he was not elevated to the post until after it was assembled. It was at this council, as the title indicates, that David removed his see from Caer-Leon to Menevia, now called St. David's. The title is as follows:—"Synodus Pambritannica contra fecem Pelagianæ hæresis adhuc redolentem celebrata, sub Davide Archiepiscopo Menevensi, qui sedem illam ope et licentia inclyti Regis Arturis a Caer-Legionum urbe Meneviam jam transtulerat †."

The Synod of Victory was held A.D. 529, in which the decrees of the former council were read and confirmed by the bishops and others who were assembled. New canons also were made for the government of the British Churches. It is said that these two synods were the rule and standard for the whole British

\* HODY, 16; COLLIER, i., 58.

† SPELMAN, i., 61; LABB. et COSS., iv. 1590; COLLIER, i., 56—58; CRESSY, 236—242; STILLINGFLEET'S *Origin. Brit.*, 357, 358.

Church, and that copies of their proceedings were transmitted to all the bishops\*. The Synod of Victory is not mentioned by Spelman.

We now pass over a considerable interval without any notice of a national or provincial council. One is mentioned, indeed, in 555, but the place is not specified: nor does Spelman allude to any such council†. During the period which intervened between the retreat of the Britons into Wales, and the arrival of Augustine, the councils were held in Wales, though the Archbishops of London and York continued to reside in their respective sees long after the Saxons had taken possession of the country. In the year 560 we meet with a synod at Landaff, under Oudoceus the bishop. Maurice, king of Glamorganshire, had been guilty of murder, and he was excommunicated by the council. At length he solicited that he might be restored to the communion of the Church, upon which the bishop having imposed a penance, to which the king submitted, removed the excommunication‡. A second synod was also convened by the same prelate, at which King Morcant and his uncle Frioc solemnly agreed, that if either should slay the other, the survivor should yield up his dominions. Soon after Frioc was assassinated by Morcant, who, either from policy or from compunction, came to Oudoceus offering to make satisfaction. It was resolved, that it was undesirable for the king to retire from his dominions; he was, therefore, released from his pledge of perpetual banishment, and certain

\* HODY, 17; COLLIER, i., 58; RAPIN, i., 56; STILLING-FLEET's *Orig. Brit.*, 359.

† LABB. et COSS., v., 1852; App.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 62; LABB. et COSS., v., 828, 829; COLLIER, i., 59.

penances, to which he promised to submit, were substituted\*. The same prelate also convened a third council at the same place, at which Guidnarth, a British prince, was excommunicated. At the end of three years he came to the bishop to solicit his restoration to the communion of the Church, when he was sent by Oudoceus to the archbishop of Brittany for a year, but returning before the expiration of the time, the bishop refused to remove the excommunication. Soon after Oudoceus died, and Guidnarth was absolved by his successor in the see of Landaff†.

These were the only councils prior to the arrival of Augustine, A.D. 596. The Archbishops of London and York, who continued for a long time in their sees, notwithstanding the tyranny of the Saxons, retired at length from the persecution to their brethren in Wales. It is remarkable, that their retirement took place, A.D. 587, only nine years before the mission of Augustine.

It would be foreign to my purpose to enter into many particulars respecting the state of religion in Britain before the arrival of Augustine; but I cannot abstain from offering a few remarks on the preceding narrative, for the purpose of showing, that the Church of that period was quite independent of Rome, though Romanist writers assert the contrary. In the various councils, the proceedings of which have been already detailed, there is no allusion to Rome, nor to the claims of the Romish see. In short it is evident, not only that the British Church had never heard of such

\* SPELMAN, i., 63; LABB. et COSS., v., 829; COLLIER, i., 59, 60.

† SPELMAN, i., 63, 64; LABB. et COSS., v., 830, 831.

a claim, but also that it had not been put forth by Rome herself. Romanists, in order to establish the claim which they now advance, should show that the Church of Rome always asserted it. Not the slightest traces even of the claim are to be found in the history of the British Church prior to the arrival of Augustine. Had the claim been asserted, it is not probable that it would entirely have been passed over in the narratives of those times.

British bishops were present at the Councils of Arles, A.D. 314; Nice, A.D. 325; Sardica, A.D. 347; and Ariminum, A.D. 359; but neither the British nor the other assembled prelates considered that the authority of the Bishop of Rome was superior to that of another bishop. Some of the canons of the Council of Arles are totally at variance with the claims of the Papal See. The words of the letter, in which the decisions were communicated to the Bishop of Rome, are most remarkable: "Quid decreverimus communi concilio charitati Tuæ significamus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum observare debeant\*." Such a style could not have been adopted, if the council had considered that the Bishop of Rome had a claim to greater authority than themselves. They tell the Roman bishop, that certain matters were settled, and they inform him, in order that he might make them public†. There is nothing like submission to his authority in this communication. The same remark will apply to the other councils, at which British bishops were present. By the Council of Sardica, which, like the rest, was called by the emperor, the Bishop of Rome is styled *Frater*

\* SPELMAN, tom. i., 40; LABB. et COSS., tom. i., 1427.

† COLLIER, i., 27, 28.



*et Consacerdos noster*\*. In fact, the whole proceedings of those times prove that the claims of Rome were neither admitted nor advanced†. We may, indeed, affirm that the supremacy was an invention of later date, the consequence of ambition in the Bishops of Rome.

Subsequent to the retirement of the two archbishops into Wales, A.D. 587, the British Church was reduced to a very low state. Her spiritual fathers were removed in consequence of the Saxon persecution; but we are not to imagine that all the British Christians quitted the country. We have the most direct and unquestionable testimony, that large numbers continued in the land, and submitted to their Saxon invaders. By them the light of the Gospel was preserved in almost every part of the country, though, from the absence of the bishops and from the persecution of the Saxons, the visible form of a Church was not maintained. Large numbers of the Britons appear to have submitted to the West Saxons especially. Of those who yielded, not a few remained constant in the faith, preaching the Gospel to their conquerors. It appears that Offa, a Saxon of the royal blood, was converted by the instrumentality of some pious Britons‡. Some, probably animated by a missionary spirit, remained in their own country for the express purpose of attempting the conversion of the Saxons. Though, therefore, they could not preserve the outward appearance of a Church, they kept the *Faith once delivered to the Saints*. They acted as leaven among their conquerors, of whom many were

\* LABR. et COSS., tom. i.

† COLLIER, i., 32-37; SPELMAN, i., 46; FULLER, 24.

‡ COLLIER, i., 63.

converted by those whom they had subdued in war. By such means the path of Augustine was made easy: for on his arrival he found many professors of the Gospel, and some even in the court of the King of Kent. We have the testimony of Bede to the fact, that there were seven bishops in Britain, and a large body of monks at Bangor, besides many learned men\*.

\* BEDE, lib. ii., cap. 2.

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## CHAPTER II.—A.D. 596—1066.

Augustine. Saxons. King Ethelbert. Augustine appointed Archbishop. Questions sent to Gregory. Council or Conference with British Bishops. Synod of Whitby; Hertford; at Rome on English Affairs; Hatfield; Becaneld; Berghamsted; Osterfield; Cloveshoo; Calcuith; Finch-enall; Finchall; Cloveshoo; Calcuith; Winchester; Landaff; Greatlea; London. State of Religion prior to the Norman Conquest.

IN the preceding chapter we have seen the Britons driven into Wales, and their land seized by their conquerors. We have seen the British Church, not extirpated, but so depressed, that the bishops were compelled to quit their flocks. Under these circumstances Augustine arrived on the coast of Kent. As my object is to confine myself especially to ecclesiastical councils, I shall not detail the particulars which led to Augustine's mission to England. He arrived, being sent by Gregory, bishop of Rome, A.D. 596. That both Gregory and Augustine were animated with zeal for the cause of Christ, no unprejudiced person will deny. I admit therefore, most freely, that the prelate and the missionary were anxious for the conversion of the Saxons; but this admission is not to be construed into an approval of all the means adopted by Augustine for the furtherance of his object, much less into an acknowledgment of the claims of the Roman see to a supremacy over the Anglican Church. At this time the Bishops of Rome were disposed to push their claims to an unwarrantable extent, but still they had not yet claimed



a supremacy over all Churches. Nay, Gregory himself actually condemned the Patriarch of Constantinople for assuming the title of Universal Bishop; so that Gregory is one of the strongest testimonies against the antiquity of the papal claim. Undoubtedly, Gregory and Augustine put forth claims which could not be substantiated; but they were not those of the Bishops of Rome of subsequent ages: they were rather grounded on the notion of a patriarchal than a pontifical power: so that a grand distinction must be made between the pretensions of Gregory and those which were put forth by his successors in later times. Even the Anglo-Saxon Church refused to yield subjection to the exorbitant claims of subsequent popes, though they were ready to acknowledge the primacy of the Romish see, or its patriarchal privileges, as explained by Augustine.

Before I advance in the narrative I cannot but pause to notice a most extraordinary statement in a modern writer. It is this:—"When Augustine undertook his mission, it does not appear that among all the Saxons there was a single person professing Christianity\*." The author could certainly never have studied the subject of which he treats, or such an assertion, so directly at variance with the evidence that exists, and the falsehood of which the slightest acquaintance even with the most ordinary works would enable any one to detect, could not have been hazarded. It is greatly to be lamented that the cause of the Anglican Church should be injured by such uninformed and injudicious advocates. An able writer remarks, "Besides the especial co-operation and blessing with which God ever accompanies the propagation of truth and holiness, there was

\* CARWITHEN'S *Hist. of the Church of England*, i., 3.

a confluence of many outward causes in the conversion of the Saxons\*. The same author further remarks, "The Britons, who had escaped the fury of the Saxons, had, before the coming of Augustine, so far recovered themselves, that, under a wise and regular discipline, they had re-established their Church, and regained some part of the glory which they had lost by the conquest of the Saxons; for though God thought fit to lay his heavy hand upon them, yet He preserved such noble remains of the British Church and nation, that the marks of his mercy and goodness, in their preservation and future settlements, are no less visible than those of his anger and justice, in their punishment†." Other influences also existed before the coming of Augustine, such as the Saxon alliances with the Scots and Picts, who were Christians; so that the same writer observes, "It is reasonable to think that their neighbourhood and friendship with those people could not but give them some knowledge of the Christian religion, and do something towards preparing the way for it‡." That these passages exhibit the true state of the case must be admitted; so that it appears most extraordinary that such an assertion should have been put forth by Mr. Carwithen. Indeed, it could only have been made in total ignorance of the subject, and such ignorance is highly culpable in a man who undertakes to write history.

The work of evangelizing the Saxons was shared between Augustine and the British Christians. I would by no means detract from the reputation of Augustine. He was an instrument of great good, but it would be

\* INNETT'S *Origines Anglicanæ*, i., 7.

† *Ibid.*, 10.

‡ *Ibid.*, 14.

unjust not to award a due share of the merit of the work to the British Christians.

Augustine was favourably received by Ethelbert, king of Kent, who had married a Christian princess, and could not be averse to the Christian faith. His queen had been permitted to make a public profession of the Gospel, one of the British churches in Canterbury having been appropriated to the use of herself and her household. Ethelbert himself embraced the Gospel some time after, and was baptized; and within a comparatively short space his example was followed by some other Saxon princes. In consequence of the retirement of the British bishops, Augustine became the head of another line. It is, however, uncertain whether Augustine was consecrated in Germany on his way to England, or at a later period by the Bishop of Arles. At all events he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. He was also authorized to consecrate to the archbishopric of York, and twelve suffragans were to be apportioned to each province\*.

A.D. 601.—This year Augustine submitted a series of questions to Gregory for his decision. According to Bede this was immediately after his consecration. Two individuals were sent to Rome on a special mission for that purpose†. Gregory returned a most explicit answer to the whole series, though I shall confine myself to those which bear more or less on the questions which I have undertaken to discuss. Augustine asked Gregory what course he was to pursue in the celebration of divine service, since one form prevailed

\* INNETT'S *Origines Anglicanae*, i., 26; STILLINGFLEET'S *Origines Brit.*, 366, 367.

† BED., lib. i., c. 27; SPELMAN, i., 95.



in the Roman Church and another in the Churches of Gaul. Gregory replied, that if Augustine discovered anything more acceptable in another Church, he was at liberty to adopt it, and that he might use any forms which commended themselves to his own judgment\*. How unlike the Church of Rome in later times! Where was the claim to infallibility? The *ninth* question is as follows:—"In what manner shall we treat the bishops of the Gauls and Britons?" Gregory replies, that the bishops of the Gauls were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Arles, but he adds, "We commit all the bishops of the Britons to you." Gregory had no authority over the British bishops; but this claim, unreasonable as it was, dwindles into insignificance when contrasted with the pretensions of the see of Rome at a later period. "Thus much is evident," says a learned writer, "past all possibility of dispute, from the Epistles of Gregory, that the pretence to an universal pastorship by a divine right was not so much as thought of at Rome in his time†." No charge was alleged against the British Churches respecting a departure from the faith; on the contrary, Roman Catholic writers admit that their creed was catholic and orthodox. The admission is made by Baronius, who, however, adds that they were in a state of schism, because they did not submit to the see of Rome‡.

Gregory, with his epistle to Augustine, sent him also the *pall*, which was a robe of wool worn by the archbishop in the celebration of mass. It was considered

\* SPELMAN, i., 95; LABB. et COSS., v., 1610, 1611; JOHNSON'S *Canons*, i., A.D. 601; BED., lib. i.

† INNETT'S *Origines Anglicanæ*, i., 27.

‡ BARON. *Annal.*, A.D. 604; INNETT, i., 4.

as an emblem of the archiepiscopal dignity, but in reality was a badge of slavery to the Romish see\*. At least it soon became to be so regarded by the popes and their supporters.

This same year, and undoubtedly in consequence of Gregory's answers, Augustine sought an interview with the prelates of the British Church. This council, therefore, was the first in England after the arrival of Augustine. It is not easy to decide how the Roman prelate managed to bring about a meeting with the British bishops; but a conference took place between the two parties. Two meetings are recorded, which may be regarded as two distinct councils, or as two sessions of the same council. The place of meeting was subsequently designated Augustine's Oak, the parties having probably assembled under a tree. The title stands thus in Spelman:—"Synod. ad Augustines-ac Pambrit†." It was situated in Worcestershire, but the precise spot cannot be ascertained. It may appear singular that the British bishops should have so readily met Augustine; but it must be remembered that King Ethelbert was possessed of great influence in the coun-

\* JOHNSON'S *Vade Mecum*, i., 68. For many particulars respecting the *pall*, Collier may be consulted, vol. i., 68, 69.

† SPELMAN, i., 104. Spelman has the following note on the place:—"In aliis nostris authoribus expressè scribitur Augustini-ac, et apud Cestrensem hodierna dialecto Augustinss-oc: sed ubinam habetur incertum est. In confinio (inquit Huntintonius) Wicciurum et Occidentalium Saxonum, id est, Wigornensium et Herefordensium. Nec hoc me expedit, ni forte villa Ausric in Wigornia margine versus Herefordiæ comitatum, quæ contractè dicitur pro Austinsric, id est, Augustini ditio, lucis aliquid in re dubia ferat. Et videtur locus sine dubio esse in Wigornia, nam et ipsa hæc synodus, alias ab authoribus Wigornensis dicitur."—SPELMAN, i., 107. See also STILLINGLEET'S *Orig. Brit.*, 367.

try, and the Britons might not wish to excite his displeasure unnecessarily by refusing to assemble for a mutual conference. At the first meeting, which was attended by the British bishops and many learned men from their monasteries, Augustine demanded their submission to the see of Rome. Three points were especially insisted on,—*First*, conformity to the Roman practice in the celebration of Easter; *Secondly*, in the ministration of baptism; *Thirdly*, that they should unite with the Roman missionaries in preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. I shall not notice the particulars respecting the alleged miracle, but merely remark that the British bishops declined to give an answer, and requested another conference\*.

At the next meeting, at which seven British bishops were present, the same demands were repeated by Augustine. He told them, that though they practised many ceremonies which were different from those of the Church of Rome, he would be content with their obedience in the three points which had been previously specified. The British prelates replied, that they could not comply in either case; that they could not depart from their own customs, nor own him as their superior†. Dinot, the abbot of Bangor, spoke at considerable length against changing their own customs for those of Rome, asserting that they would neither own the Roman pride nor the Saxon tyranny‡. “*Inter quos Dinotus omnium primus graviter et docte de non approbanda apud eos Romanorum auctoritate disputabat. Fortiter*

\* INNETT, i., 32; SPELMAN, i., 105. They were the Bishops of Worcester, Landaff, Hereford, Bangor, St. Asaph, and two others of places which are unknown.

† BEDA, lib. ii., c. 2.

‡ STILLINGFLEET's *Orig. Brit.*, 370.



præterea tuebatur Menevensis archiepiscopi in ecclesiis suarum rebus ratam jurisdictionem: concludens non esse in Britannorum commodum futurum in communionem admittere vel Romanum fastum vel cognitam Anglo-Saxonum tyrannidem\*." The address of Dinoth is preserved by Sir Henry Spelman, from an ancient manuscript, who gives it in Welsh, Latin, and English. I subjoin the English translation from this learned writer:—

"Be it known and without doubt unto you, that we all are, and every one of us, obedient and subjects to the Church of God and to the Pope of Rome, and to every godly Christian, to love every one in his degree in perfect charity, and to help every one of them by word and deed to be the children of God; and other obedience than this I do not know due to him whom you name to be Pope, nor to be the Father of Fathers, to be claimed and to be demanded, an this obedience we are ready to give and to pay to him, and to every Christian continually. Besides we are under the government of the Bishop of Caer-Leon upon Uske, who to oversee under God over us, to cause us to keep the way spiritual†."

It is clear from this answer that the British Church acknowledged no subjection to the Bishop of Rome. Rome had already departed from the rule fixed by some of the early councils, that each Church should be independent.

In the above address Dinoth states that they were subject to the Bishop of Caer-Leon upon Uske. This place was the ancient seat of the metropolitan see, and the title seems to have been retained, though at

\* SPELMAN, i., 107.

† *Ibid.*, 108, 109.

the time of the conference the see had been transferred to St. David's\*. It is remarkable that the Archbishop of St. David's was not at the council, though all his suffragans were present. The cause of his absence has not been assigned, but Spelman with great probability suggests that he might decline attending, "*ne metropolitican suam dignitatem perigrino, in provincia sua, contra canones subderet metropolitano*†."

It may be asked, why did not the British bishops yield to Augustine in points of indifference? The truth is, Augustine demanded submission as a right, and to have yielded would have been an acknowledgment of that right. He did not meet them on equal terms, nor for the purpose of a friendly arrangement of the various points at issue between them. It is easy, too, to assign a reason for their not uniting with Augustine in promoting the conversion of the Saxons. The British viewed the Saxons as usurpers; and though many individuals assisted, as has been already mentioned, in evangelizing their conquerors, yet it was not to be expected that the Britons could concur in the work as a Church, since such a proceeding would have been an acknowledgment of the Saxon rule‡. Upon the whole, therefore, we cannot but conclude that the British bishops pursued a wise and prudent course in their intercourse with the Romish missionary.

A council, of which, however, little is known, was held A.D. 605, at which certain privileges were conferred on a monastery founded by Augustine§; and

\* SPELMAN, i., 106, who remarks, "*sed retento pariter Caerlegionis titulo.*"

† *Ibid.*, i., 106.

‡ COLLIER, i., 77.

§ SPELMAN, i. 126, 127: LABB. *et* COSS., v., 1614.

another A.D. 617, in which the bishops, in consequence of the cruelty and apostasy of the Saxons, resolved to retire from the country\*. It appears that some acted on this determination; but the papal writers allege that Laurentius was prevented by a miracle from following the example of Mellitus and Justus†.

The conversion of the Saxons was, however, attempted both by the Romish missionaries and by the British Christians. Little, indeed, had been accomplished by Augustine at the time of his death, A.D. 604; but subsequently many Christian ministers from Rome, and from the Britons and the Scots, were employed in the work. That the Saxons were converted by missionaries from different Churches is evident from the fact that different usages prevailed in different places‡. Two years after Augustine's death, Boniface, the Roman bishop, assumed that title, which his predecessor Gregory had condemned; but the claim was not acknowledged by the Saxon princes. It became, therefore, the policy of the Romish adherents in England to attempt to reduce the British, and those Saxons who conformed to the usages of the British Churches, to obedience to the see of Rome. This was the policy of the Archbishops of Canterbury, as the leaders of the Romish party§. Laurentius, who succeeded Augustine, laboured hard to induce the British and Scottish clergy to adopt the Romish usages, especially respecting the observance of Easter||. The Romanists felt that the difference of rites and ceremonies would involve the condemnation

\* SPELMAN, i., 131, 132; LABB. et COSS., v., 1662.

† CRESSY'S *Church History*, 324.

‡ SOAMES' *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 69.

§ INNETT, i., 63.

|| SPELMAN, i., 128.



of their pretensions to universal sovereignty, since the fact afforded the most conclusive evidence that the Churches, from which the Britons had received the Gospel, were not subject to Rome.

A.D. 664.—Such was the origin of the synod of Whitby. It was convened for the purpose of bringing the British Churches to conformity with Rome. The subjects of discussion were the same as in the preceding council, namely, the Easter festival, with some other observances, but that of the *tonsure* was added to the number:—"In qua acerrime contenditur de ritu celebrandi paschatis; de tonsure sacerdotum, et de aliis rebus ecclesiasticis\*." Several bishops were present from the Romish and the British Churches. Oswy, the king of Northumberland, by whose means the council was convened, commanded Colman to explain the customs of the British Christians. This prelate stated, that he observed the same method of keeping the Easter festival as was practised by those who sent him hither as a bishop, which had been received from St. John, and handed down from their forefathers. Wilfrid was the speaker on the other side. He stated that they followed the practice of Rome, Italy, France, Greece, Asia, and Africa, and that the Britons and the Picts alone adopted a different custom†. Both parties having been heard, the King declared in favour of the Roman method of keeping Easter, and also of the tonsure‡. Oswy's reason for his decision is remarkable, and shows that the progress of superstition had been

\* SPELMAN, i., 145.

† INNETT, i., 63; JOHNSON'S *Canons*, A.D. 673, note; COLLIER, i., 95, 96, 97.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 145—150; LABB. et COSS., vi., 491—6; INNETT, i., 63, 70.

another, *St. Peter* kept the door of of th  
of th *St. Peter* lest when he came  
refu *St. Peter* would refuse him an entrance\*.  
on *St. Peter* however, that the Bishop of  
the *St. Peter* of Canterbury, had any juris-  
for *St. Peter* over the churches in the north of  
for *St. Peter* probable, that, had any such claim  
*King Oswy* would have complied so  
for *St. Peter* Roman customs†.

of these disputes, the more powerful  
of the *St. Peter* sovereigns agreed to choose a proper  
Archbishop of Canterbury, who should go to  
for *St. Peter* consecration, and then establish the Romish  
in England. For this purpose a native was  
chosen, but he was suddenly removed by death.  
Under these circumstances Pope Vitalian selected  
Theodore, a Greek, for that important post, who, arriving  
in England the next year, soon gained the favour of the  
Saxon monarchs‡. At the same time they did not  
recognise the papal authority. Theodore, therefore,  
was the first Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom all  
England submitted.

A.D. 673.—Theodore convened a synod of several  
bishops and presbyters at Hertford this year. The  
bishops of the East Angles, Rochester, the West  
Saxons, and the Mercians were present, and Wilfrid,  
archbishop of York, sent his proxies. The British  
bishops were not present. A book of canons was sub-  
mitted to the synod by Theodore, whose aim was to  
settle the Anglican Church according to the Roman

\* WAKE'S *Authority*, 167; BED., iii., 26; CRESSY, 401.

† INNETT, i., 70.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 153; INNETT, i., 61-73.



model. It is uncertain whether these canons were merely transcribed from ancient councils, or whether they were drawn up by Theodore. Some have thought that they were taken from the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, while others view them as his own productions\*. Ten canons were selected and approved by the council. The *first* relates to the much-agitated question of Easter, and decides, that the festival should be kept on the Sunday after the full moon. The others refer to matters connected with the conduct of the clergy in general. It is observed by Wake, that the discipline of the Church was settled in this synod†. Presbyters were present in this assembly, but their precise powers cannot be ascertained.

Baronius ascribes the calling of this council to the pope, asserting that Theodore acted as his legate. Bede, on the other hand, distinctly asserts that it was called by the archbishop‡. It is more probable that it was summoned by authority of the Saxon princes.

Within a short space a dispute arose between Theodore and Wilfrid, bishop of York, who was banished by the king of Northumberland, as it is alleged, for refusing to submit to the canons enacted in the council, though his banishment is by some ascribed to other causes§. Wilfrid proceeded to Rome to submit his case to the pope, who was making arrangements for holding the *sixth* general council summoned by the emperor to meet at Constantinople. The pope, there-

\* COLLIER, i., 101, 102; INNETT i., 77.

† WAKE'S *Authority*, 167, 168; LABB. et COSS, vi., 538, 539; JOHNSON'S *Canons*, A.D. 673; SPELMAN, i., 153; COLLIER, i., 102; INNETT, i., 78.

‡ BARON. *Annal.* ANNO 672; BED., lib. iv., c., 45.

§ SPELMAN, i., 157; JOHNSON'S *Canons*, ANNO 680, preface.

fore, called a synod at Rome, or a consistory, consisting of the incumbents of parishes in the ancient city, who formed a sort of council, as the cardinals did in later ages. It is said that seventeen bishops were present; but it is difficult to decide whence they came. By some it has been thought that they had been summoned to Rome to receive instructions preparatory to the general council, while others have asserted that they were the bishops of the neighbouring provinces, who were always called together on extraordinary occasions\*. The Roman pontiff stated that he had summoned the council for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the Church in Britain. Theodore had wished to appoint several bishops in the north by dividing the see of York, which was opposed by Wilfrid. The council decided in favour of Theodore's proposal, and John, precentor of the church of St. Peter, was the bearer of the decree to the archbishop†.

Two abstracts of a council at Rome are given by Spelman; and there is a question whether they were two separate councils, or two sessions of the same. "Videtur igitur neutrum exemplar integrum exhibere concilium, sed vel diversam ejusdem sessionem comprehendere: vel pro arbitrio transcribentium, alterum illud prosequi quod solummodo ad Wilfridem spectat, alterum illud solum quod totius interest Ecclesiæ Britannicæ‡." Johnson remarks upon this: "But I am so far from being of this opinion, that I look upon them as contradictory to each other; and have inserted them as a plain instance of Romish infallibility in opposition

\* JOHNSON'S *Canons*, A.D. 680; INNETT, i., 91.

† SPELMAN, i. 157; JOHNSON'S *Canons*, A.D. 680.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 159.

to itself. If, as is probable, the bishops and others that sat in both assemblies were the same, this self-opposition is still more gross and shameful\*." At this time one hundred and twenty-five bishops were assembled at Rome preparatory to the council at Constantinople; but the affairs of the English Church were considered in a council comprised of individuals from the neighbouring dioceses. Johnson supposes that as the great assembly had commenced its business, the council respecting Britain was held on a non-synodical day†. It seems, therefore, that Wilfrid's case was reconsidered. The pope told the council that he had called them together to consider the affairs of the British Church, and especially the case of Wilfrid, who was admitted into the assembly, his petition being read by a public notary. A decree was enacted in Wilfrid's favour. He was to be restored to his see, though the council had previously justified Theodore. Wilfrid was also admitted to take his seat in the council, on which account some papal writers call him a *legate* from England. The notion is, however, absurd, for so far from being a *legate* to represent the English Church at Rome, he was at enmity with Theodore and the English bishops‡. Wilfrid hastened back to England; but Theodore disregarded the sentence of the council, a circumstance which proves that the authority of the pope was not regarded even by those who were in communion with Rome. The king of Northumberland also supported the views of Theodore, for instead of restoring Wilfrid he cast him into prison§.

\* JOHNSON'S *Canons*, A.D. 680.

† *Ibid.*

‡ SPELMAN, i., 160, 161, 162; INNETT, i., 98.

§ INNETT, i., 102.



A.D. 680.—The Church at this time was troubled by the heresy of the *Monothelites*, who asserted that there was only one will and operation in Christ, so that the distinction of natures was destroyed. This heresy led to the sixth general council already mentioned at Constantinople; and in order to check it in England a synod was convened, A.D. 680, at Hatfield, under Theodore, the archbishop, by the command or consent of the Saxon sovereigns. Spelman calls it *Concilium generale, seu Pambritannicorum*: and it was one of the most important councils in the early history of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Theodore and the assembled prelates declared their belief in the great doctrines of the Gospel in accordance with the decisions of the *first five* general councils, specifying for what purposes they were especially called. They also received the epistles of Ibas, and the Roman synod under Martin the First, which was summoned against the same heresy. The decisions of this council had been brought over by command of Agatho. The closing words of the synod at Hatfield are very remarkable. In allusion to the decrees and decisions of the councils previously mentioned, they observe: "Suscipimus et glorificamus Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, sicut isti glorificaverunt, nihil addentes vel subtrahentes, et anathematizamus corde et ore, quos anathematizaverunt, et quos susceperunt suscipimus\*." Thus they settled the faith of the Church, admitting the decisions of the *first five* general councils; so that it is clear, that at this period the faith of the Anglo-Saxon Church was the same as that of the Anglican Church at the present

\* SPELMAN, i., 169; LABB. et COSS., vi., 577, 578.

time, since we recognise and receive the decisions of the councils specified at the synod of Hatfield\*.

Another synod was convened by Theodore, A.D. 685, near the River Alne, at Twiford, at which seven bishops were present. It was at this synod that St. Cuthbert was chosen to the episcopal office†.

The Saxon nations were now generally converted to Christianity; and the doctrines of the Church were fixed by the council of Hatfield. Theodore died A.D. 690. About this time the Church in England became more closely connected with the state; and, therefore, we find the Saxon princes issuing laws, which related as well to ecclesiastical as to civil matters. Of this character were the laws of Ina, king of the West Saxons, A.D. 693, eleven in number, which relate especially to the Church, and were calculated to advance her interests‡.

A.D. 694.—This year a council met at Becanceld, Withred, king of Kent, presiding, the archbishop and his suffragans being present, besides presbyters and others§. The king declared his views respecting the Church in several points of importance. "In quo," says Spelman, "*Ecclesiæ liberæ fiunt ab omni tributo et exactione seculari, earumque res a laicorum jure et injuria eximuntur.*" The signatures may be seen in

\* WAKE'S *Authority*, 163.

† BED., l. iv., c. 25; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1874.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 182—188; JOHNSON, anno 693.

§ JOHNSON, anno 692, who has the following note. "Now called Bapchild, near to Sittingbourn, on the Canterbury side, being about midway between the coast of Kent and London, and therefore a very convenient place for a Kentish council. At this place, not many years since, were the visible remains of two chapels, standing very near to one another, on the right hand of the road from Canterbury to Sittingbourn."



the same learned writer. Wilfrid's stands first, then the archbishop's, and then the names of several bishops and presbyters\*.

A.D. 697.—A council was held at Berghamstead this year, at which the archbishop and bishops, with some of the inferior clergy, and certain individuals from among the laity, were present. Withred also was present, as at the preceding assembly. The decrees or decisions, twenty-eight in number, are called the *Dooms of King Withred*. By these laws the Church is exempted from the payment of taxes. Some of them also relate to the regulation of the public morals†.

With the exception of a few meetings or councils, the intercourse of the British bishops with the Anglo-Saxon Church had been but slight; but at the close of this century, or at the commencement of the next, Adhelm, abbot of Malmsbury, was appointed to write against the Britons on the question of the Easter Festival. So great, it is said, was his success, that many submitted to the Roman method. Adhelm appears to have been selected for the task by a council, called, by Spelman, "*Synodus Merciana*," which he assigns to the year 705, though the succeeding pages of his work detail the proceedings of the year 701. The date 705 may perhaps be substituted for 701‡.

A.D. 701.—This year a council was assembled, at Osterfield, by Alfrid, king of the Northumbrians, in which Wilfrid was summoned to appear to answer to

\* SPELMAN, i., 189, 190, 191; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1356—1359; COLLIER, i., 114, 115. Wake doubted the genuineness of this council, but he is sufficiently answered by Collier.

† SPELMAN, i., 194—198; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1376—1379; JOHNSON'S *Canons*, anno 696.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 199; INNETT, i., 123.

certain charges. He had declined to submit to the canons of Theodore; and on his intimation of an appeal to Rome, he was deprived by the synod of his bishopric. Wilfrid charged the council with despising the apostolic see for two-and-twenty years, while they had preferred the canons of Theodore\*. The synod, however, declared that the see of Rome could not interfere with an Anglican council; so that, at this period, the Church in England, though connected with Rome, did not admit the papal supremacy. The king and the archbishop told Wilfrid, that his appeal to Rome had justified their decision. They proceeded, therefore, to excommunicate him and his followers. Messengers also were sent to Rome to explain their conduct to the pope. One of their charges against Wilfrid was, that he had refused to submit to the sentence of the archbishop and the synod. It was declared by the council, that their decrees could not be altered by the apostolic see†.

Wilfrid was received with favour at Rome, and the Pope recommended his restoration to his see. Some few years afterwards, when the feeling against him was somewhat softened, the Archbishop of Canterbury went into Northumberland, and requested the king, Alfrid's successor, to assemble a council to decide on the case of Wilfrid. A council was accordingly assembled near the river *Nidd*, in that kingdom. The archbishop stated the wishes of the pope respecting Wilfrid's restoration; but the council replied, that they saw no reasons for reversing the decisions of Theodore. At this time, however, the Abbess Elfredi, King Alfrid's sister, communicated to the council, that her brother,

\* SPELMAN, i., 201; COLLIER, i., 117; INNETT, i., 134.

† LABB. et COSS., vi., 1382, 1384-5; INNETT, i., 134, 135.

on his dying bed, had made a vow to restore Wilfrid, in the event of his recovery from his sickness. The circumstance produced such an impression on the council, that a compromise was effected, and Wilfrid was restored\*. Thus the persuasions of a woman were of more avail than the commands of the pope. It is clear, therefore, that at this time the Anglican Church was independent of Rome. The whole circumstances, however, related by the abbess have the appearance of an imposition. It seems to have been practised for the purpose of procuring a decision in Wilfrid's favour.

It appears that a council was held, though the place is not known, under Ina, king of the West Saxons, in which the see of the West Saxons was divided. It is, however, difficult to determine anything respecting it†.

A curious circumstance is recorded, connected with this period, of Egwin, bishop of Worcester. It is to this effect:—Egwin alleged that he was directed, in a vision, to set up the image of the Virgin in his cathedral. In consequence of a dispute, an appeal was made to the Pope, before whom Egwin related the particulars of his vision. Constantine, the pope, sent a legate into Britain to convene a synod, which, it is stated, met at London, A.D. 712, and enacted canons in favour of the worship of images and the celibacy of the clergy. Such is an outline of the story‡. There is, however, every reason to believe, that the whole is a fabrication, and that no such council ever existed. It is remarkable, too, that it is rejected by some Romanists, as well as by Protestants, though on widely different grounds.

\* LABB. vi., 1389; COLLIER, i., 119; INNETT, i., 144.

† SPELMAN, i., 208; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1393.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 208—218.



By the former it is rejected on the ground that *image worship* is of earlier date, and that it was introduced by Augustine into the Anglican Church, being the received practice; by the latter it is rejected, on the ground that the evidence is insufficient and contradictory. It is rejected by Baronius and Cressy\*. Another council at the same time is also mentioned.

A.D. 742.—During several years, the particulars of the Anglican synods are very scanty. This year, however, one appears to have been assembled at *Cloveshoo*, at which Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, presided. At this synod the privileges of King Withred to the Church of Kent were extended to the Church of Mercia. Some writers have supposed that this was the synod of 747; but there appears to be no sufficient reason to doubt that a council was assembled in 742†.

A.D. 747.—At all events a most important council was convened at *Cloveshoo* at this time. Boniface, an Englishman, and Archbishop of Mentz, as well as legate from the pope to the Germans, wrote a letter to Ethelbald, king of Mercia, in which he censures him for his immorality and for sacrilege. He also addressed another letter to Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, with a copy of the canons of a synod at *Augsburg*. The first of these canons is remarkable, as showing the progress of Rome towards supremacy. “*Decrevimus*

\* COLLIER. i., 122; HODY, 37; BARONIUS, A.D. 714; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1421; CRESSY, 539; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1421—1429. Another is supposed by some writers to have been held at *Alne*, A.D. 709, and others in 707 and 728, but very little is known respecting their proceedings. See SPELMAN, i., 215; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1401; COLLIER i., 120, 121, 155; HODY, 37.

† SPELMAN, i., 230, 231; JOHNSON, A.D. 742; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1532, 1533; HODY, 39.

hæc in nostro synodali conventu, et confessi sumus fidem catholicam et unitatem et subjectionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ fine tenus vitæ nostræ velle servare, Sancto Petro et vicario ejus velle subjici, synodum per omnes annos congregare metropolitanos pallia ab illa sede quærere et per omnia præcepta Sancti Petri canonice sequi desiderare ut inter oves sibi commendatas numerentur et istæ confessioni universi consensimus et subscripsimus\*." It is very remarkable, that such a decree should have been enacted in a provincial council, before the see of Rome had put forth its absolute claim to supremacy. The *Pall*, of which mention is made, was regarded by Romanists as a badge of subjection to Rome.

About this time the province of Canterbury, which hitherto had comprehended all England, was divided, according to the original intention of Gregory and Augustine. Egbert was, therefore, promoted to the see of York as a metropolitan.

King Ethelbald presided in this council at Cloveshoo. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with eleven bishops and several presbyters, were present. No less than thirty-one canons were framed. Many of them would be creditable to any council at any period. By the *first*, it was determined that the ancient canons should be observed, which seems to have been directed against the above-mentioned German decree. By the *tenth*, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were commanded to be taught in the vulgar tongue. In some things the council adopted the canons of Augsburg, which had been sent by Boniface: but in the most important particulars they departed from them. "In the first and

\* SPELMAN, i., 232—242; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1565, 1566; COLLIER, i., 128, 129.



main part," says a learned writer, "they desert it. I mean in this, that they profess no subjection to the pope, nor make any recognition of his sovereign authority, as they in Germany had done\*." The decisions were communicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to Boniface. It is observable that the German council made the unity of the Church to consist in subjection to the pope, but at Cloveshoo the Anglican Church decided otherwise†.

A.D. 787.—After a considerable interval, a council met at Calcuith. Some authorities place it in 785. It is designated in Spelman, "*Concilium Calchuthense legatinum et Pananglicum*‡." Hitherto the Anglican Church, as is evident from the proceedings of the council at Cloveshoo, had resisted the encroachments of the papal see; but two bishops came over from Rome at this time to be present at Calcuith, bringing with them certain canons which had been framed at Rome. They had, indeed, been subscribed previously in a Northumbrian synod, and now they were signed by Offa, king of the Mercians, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and twelve bishops, besides abbots and nobles§. The bishops, who appeared as legates from the pope, affirmed that they were the first priests who had come over from Rome since Augustine. Johnson's remark on this statement is pertinent: "And it were to be wished they had been the last too, that came upon such an errand." He adds, "It is evident the legates had all

\* JOHNSON'S *Canons*, A.D. 747; SPELMAN, i., 242—256; COLLIER, i., 129, 130.

† INNETT, i., 177; WARNER, i., 149, 150.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 291.

§ SPELMAN, i., 291—302; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1861—1873; JOHNSON, A.D., 785; INNETT, i., 202, 203.

ready drawn, and put neither the ecclesiastics nor seculars to the trouble of debating any single point. Both councils subscribe to the same form of words, which is too sad an evidence of the tame implicit faith of the Church and State at this time of day." At the same time it may be remarked that the Saxon sovereigns and bishops did not recognise the pope's claims, though they appear to have submitted to his legates, nor did the canons involve any subjection to the see of Rome. The *first* canon alone bears on the subject, and it merely enjoins the faith of the Nicene council and of the six general councils. In the *tenth* these words occur, "Let bread be offered by the faithful, not crusts;" and they prove that the people brought their own bread to the communion, so that it could not even have been consecrated by the priest, and consequently the notion of *transubstantiation* could not have been entertained at that time. It was, however, by such gradual advances that Rome succeeded in establishing her authority over the Anglican Church.

Two synods are mentioned by Spelman in the year 788 at Finchenall and Acleam\*. In the year 792 Charles the Great sent a copy of the canons of the second Nicene council to Offa, king of the Mercians. This council had, contrary to the decrees of the previous general councils, authorized the use of images in churches. At this period the practice was unknown in England, and so shocked were the Anglican prelates, that a severe reply, in reprobation of the decisions of the Nicene council, was sent to Charles†.

Besides the archiepiscopal see of York, it seems that another was erected at Lichfield. This city was

\* SPELMAN, i., 304, 305.

† *Ibid.*, i., 306, 307.

raised to that dignity by Offa, king of the Mercians, who disliked the dependence of the Church in his dominions on the see of Canterbury. He therefore procured the pall from the pope for an archbishop of Lichfield. A curious state of things existed during the Heptarchy. There were several independent kingdoms; yet all acknowledged the metropolitan power of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, until Offa procured the establishment of a third archiepiscopal see, which, however, subsisted but a short time\*. A provincial council was convened at Verulam, A.D. 793, by Offa and his metropolitan, to decree certain honours to the memory of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of the Britons. Such was the origin of the monastery at St. Albans†. The next year another synod was held at Celeyth, in the kingdom of Mercia, at which several bishops, besides nobles, were present. It was convened for the same purpose as the preceding, as was also a third at the same place, during the same year‡.

In the year 798 or 799 a synod was held at Finchall, under the Archbishop of York. The Easter question was discussed, and the *first five* general councils were recognised, their canons and decrees being received by the synod: "Suscipimus sanctas et universales quinque synodos beatorum et Deo acceptabilium patrum, sicut presentis libri continet textus," &c.§ As yet, therefore, no very material change had been effected in the doctrines of the Anglican Church. Another synod is also mentioned by some writers, under the same year, at

\* INNETT, i., 199.

† SPELMAN, i., 309, 310.

‡ *Ibid.*, i., 313, 314; LABB. et COSS., vi., 1012.

§ SPELMAN, i., 316; LABB. et COSS., vii., 1148; COLLIER, i., 145.



Becaneeld, and another at Cloveshoo, A.D. 800; but little is known respecting either. The reader may pursue the subject by referring to the works cited below\*.

A.D. 803.—A council met this year at Cloveshoo, at which the archbishopric of Lichfield was abolished, the bishop being reduced to a suffragan of the see of Canterbury, all the rights and privileges of the church of Canterbury being confirmed†. Certain chronological difficulties existed respecting this council, as may be seen in Collier and Johnson; but while the latter learned author was engaged in his laborious task of preparing his useful work for the press, a copy of the proceedings of this council was sent him, which had been accidentally discovered in the Cottonian Library. The difficulties were now removed, since the names and circumstances, which had created them, did not exist in the newly-discovered manuscript. He therefore followed this copy in his translation, but he has pointed out its variations from Spelman‡. The reasons for confirming the see of Canterbury in certain privileges were these: that the Gospel was first preached and holy baptism administered in that city by Augustine. A remarkable clause occurs in the account of the council's proceedings: "We do by consent and licence of our apostolical lord Pope Leo, forbid the charter sent from the see of Rome by Pope Adrian, and the pall, and the see archiepiscopal in the monastery of Lichfield, to be of any validity, because gotten by surreption and insincere

\* SPELMAN, i., 317, 318; LABB. et COSS., vii., 1148—9, 1153; COLLIER, i., 145, 146; HODY, 44; INNETT, 238, 239.

† SPELMAN, i., 324; LABB. et COSS., vii., 1189—90; HODY, 52.

‡ JOHNSON, A.D. 803; COLLIER, i., 145.

suggestions\*." The see of Rome, it would appear, did not claim *infallibility* at that time.

A.D. 816.—A synod was assembled at Calcuth by Kenulph, the king of the Mercians, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury presided. Eleven canons were framed and enacted by this council. The *second* prescribes the ceremonies for the consecration of a church; among other things it is enjoined, that the consecrated elements be laid up among the other relics, which were used on such occasions; so that the elements and the relics of saints are placed on a level. This circumstance, though it may prove that the Anglican Church had imbibed certain erroneous views respecting relics, shows that at this time our ancestors had no idea of *transubstantiation*. The other canons need not be noticed†.

Other councils appear to have been held about this time, of which few particulars are recorded, as one under Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, in 820; another at Cloveshoo, in 822, and one at the same place in 824; another in 833, to devise means against the irruptions of the Danes; one in 838, and another in 851. Some of these, however, partook more of the character of parliaments than synods. All the particulars, which have been preserved, may be seen in the authorities quoted below‡.

A.D. 855.—This year a council was held at Winchester, at which were present the kings of the West Saxons,

\* Cloveshoo is now called Abingdon, according to Johnson, though Warner states that Cliff, near Rochester, was the place. WARNER, i., 149.

† SPELMAN, i., 327—331; LABB. et COSS., vii., 1484—1488; INNETT, i., 252—254; COLLIER, 149, 150; WARNER, i., 164—167.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 331—334, 335, 336—339, 340—346; LABB. et COSS., vii., 1519, 1527, 1555-6, 1683-4, 1769.



the Mercians, and the East Angles, together with the archbishops of Canterbury and York, and their suffragans. At this council, Ethelwolf, the West Saxon monarch, made a grant of the tithe of the kingdom to the Church\*. For several years, councils were infrequently convened, in consequence of the troubled state of the country, arising from the incursions of the Danes; nor was it until the reign of King Alfred that they were held with freedom†. At this period the sovereign, however, often published laws ecclesiastical—a circumstance which proves that the Saxon kings exercised a supremacy independent of the pope. Of this character were Alfred's laws, A.D. 887. In the Preface, the Ten Commandments were inserted, and were thus actually made a part of the law of the land. It is remarkable, however, that the *Second* commandment is suppressed, the *Tenth* being divided into two to complete the number‡.

During this troublous period, several British councils were held at Landaff§. The Saxon kings were gradually reduced under the rule of the king of the West Saxons; and though some of the princes for a time retained their titles, yet they were tributary to Egbert. For some years it is difficult to trace the particulars of the ecclesiastical proceedings. Cressy mentions a council at London in 886, summoned by King Alfred, at which it is said the king sharply reproved the clergy for their ignorance, and that a surprising effect was produced||.

\* SPELMAN, i., 348—352; LABB. et COSS., viii., 243; COLLIER, i., 156, 157; INNETT, i., 272—274.

† SPELMAN, i., 353.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 354, 355; JOHNSON, anno 877.

§ SPELMAN, i., 381—386; LABB. et COSS., ix., 390—396.

|| CRESSY, 775; INNETT, i., 263.

At the commencement of the tenth century, it is recorded by some authors, that the kingdom was placed under an interdict by the pope, because certain sees were not filled up, and that five new sees were erected by a synod which was summoned in consequence of the papal bull\*. There is, however, strong reason to believe that the whole story is a forgery invented for the purpose of inducing the belief that the pope's power was exercised in England at this period. The council is alleged to have been held in 904 or 908, when Formosus was pope. Formosus died in 896; and Baronius, seeing the difficulty, supposes that the date 904 was substituted for 894†. "This," says a learned author, "only changes, but does not remove, the difficulty; for if Formosus was alive in that year, it is as certain that King Alfred was alive too, and that Edward came not to the crown till six years after: so that it is certain, that Edward and Formosus were not king and pope together; but, on the contrary, Formosus was dead at least four years before Edward came to the crown‡." The truth is, the practice of placing kingdoms under interdicts was not yet known. At present, at all events, the English monarchs were supreme as well in ecclesiastical as in civil matters.

A.D. 928.—King Athelstan summoned a synod at Greatlea, in which certain ecclesiastical laws were framed, which are known under the name of that sovereign. They may be seen in the authorities quoted in the margin§. Four other councils are mentioned as

\* SPELMAN, i., 387—389.

† BARONIUS, anno 897.

‡ INNETT., i., 298; SOAMES' *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 161, 162.

§ SPELMAN, i., 396—7; COLLIER, i., 175.

having taken place during this period, at Exeter, Feversham, Thunderfield, and London\*. A synod was also held in Wales in 940, at which certain laws were enacted for the regulation of the British churches†. In 943, Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, published a series of ecclesiastical constitutions, amounting in number to *ten*. The *eighth* refers to the question of unity, and in such a way as to show, that the present doctrine of the Romish church on this subject was unknown at that time. It makes the unity of the Church to consist in unity of faith, and union with Christ the head, without any allusion whatever to a connexion with the Bishop of Rome. From the whole of those laws or regulations it is evident, that the doctrines of the present Church of Rome were unknown in England in the tenth century‡. King Edmund also summoned a synod at London about the same time, at which certain ecclesiastical laws were framed, which were set forth in the king's name§. In the year 948 a council was convened at London, both the archbishops, with several of their suffragans, and some of the nobility, being present. In the list of the individuals who subscribed to the proceedings of the council, the name of the Archbishop of York stands before that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. For what reason this deviation from the usual practice was made does not appear||. Two synods were held in Wales in 950 and 955; and one at London, at which the privileges of Glastonbury were confirmed¶.

\* SPELMAN, i., 407.

† SPELMAN, i., 408.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 415—418; INNETT, i., 313, 314.

§ SPELMAN, i., 419—427; LABB. et COSS., ix., 612; JOHNSON, anno 943.

|| SPELMAN, i., 428; LABB. et COSS., ix., 633, 634.

¶ SPELMAN, i., 429, 435; LABB., et COSS., ix., 634, 637—638.



King Edgar also issued certain laws or canons, A.D. 967. The thirty-eighth enjoins that some of the consecrated bread should always be ready; that care should be taken to prevent it from becoming stale; and that, should such be the case, it should be burnt\*. Collier remarks upon this canon, "Had the English Church been of the same belief with the modern Roman as to the point of transubstantiation; had they believed the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin had been present under the appearance of bread; and that there had been flesh and bones, as the Trent Catechism words it, under so foreign a representation, 'tis hard to imagine they would have disposed of the Eucharist in this manner†."

A.D. 969.—Dunstan was now Archbishop of Canterbury; and this year he convened a council to consider the question of clerical celibacy. Dunstan was its powerful advocate, and the subject was discussed in several councils. In 970 or 971 another met at London, in which the privileges granted to Glastonbury were confirmed, the power of conferring the pastoral staff on a brother elect being reserved to the king and his heirs. The question of celibacy was again discussed in a synod at Winchester, A.D. 975: and the legend is that, during the debate, a crucifix actually spoke in favour of Dunstan's views‡. This is perhaps one of the earliest on record of those tricks for which the Romish Church became afterwards so celebrated; for that it was a

\* SPELMAN, i., 452; LABB. et Coss., ix., 680—697, where the whole may be seen.

† COLLIER, i., 487.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 479, 483, 490—492; LABB. et Coss., ix., 698—700, 702—706, 721—723.

contrivance of the monks to promote their own cause there can be no doubt whatever. To attempt the exposure of such an absurd story would be ridiculous; yet Romish writers profess to believe it, and actually adduce it in favour of clerical celibacy. Two years after a council was held at Kirtlington, in Cambridge-shire; another at Calne, in Wiltshire, A.D. 978; and also one at Amesbury, and a British synod at Landaff\*.

A.D. 1009.—A council was now called at Aenham, probably Ensham, in Oxfordshire, by King Ethelred, with the concurrence of the two archbishops. It was a mixed assembly, as was common in those times: but almost all its proceedings related to the Church, and were managed by the clergy alone, who went apart for that purpose†. None of the peculiar doctrines of Rome are contained in the canons of this council except the celibacy of the clergy: so that, even at this time, there is no reason to believe, that the obnoxious tenets of the Romish church were known or received in England‡. Soon after another synod met at Haba, whose constitutions were made public as the laws ecclesiastical of King Ethelred§. In 1021 a council was assembled at Winchester under King Canute; and one at Landaff, A.D. 1034, at which Mouric, king of Glamorganshire, was excommunicated for a violation of the sanctuary of St. Dubritius||.

\* SPELMAN, i., 493, 494, 502; LABB. et COSS., ix., 724, 732; COLLIER, i., 199.

† WAKE'S *Authority*, 159.

‡ SPELMAN, i., 510-530; LABB. et COSS., ix., 789-802; JOHNSON, ANNO 1009; COLLIER, i., 208.

§ SPELMAN, i., 530-533; LABB. et COSS., ix., 807, 808; JOHNSON, ANNO, 1014.

|| SPELMAN, i., 534, 570.



Between this period and the Norman Conquest, A.D. 1066, it does not appear that any English synod was assembled: and the only matters to be noticed connected with the time, are the *Canons of Ælfric* and the *Laws Ecclesiastical* of Edward the Confessor. Respecting the author and the date of the canons there is some difficulty. Some authorities have supposed that there were two Ælfrics, the one, who was archbishop of Canterbury from 995 to 1005, the other Archbishop of York from 1023 to 1053. Johnson assigns the canons to the year 957; Spelman to the year 1052\*. I shall not attempt to remove the difficulties, but pass on to a brief consideration of some points connected with the canons. It is of little consequence whether they were framed at the close of the tenth century, or at the commencement or middle of the eleventh; but it is certain that they were the received doctrine of the Anglican church at the period of their publication. They afford the most undoubted evidence against *transubstantiation*. The twenty-seventh canon, in allusion to the sacramental elements, which were designated *housel*, has this remarkable passage: "That *housel* is Christ's body, not corporally but spiritually; not the body in which he suffered, but that body of which he spake when he blessed bread and wine for *housel* one night before his passion, and said of the bread blessed, This is my body; and again of the wine blessed, This is my blood, that is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins†." This is not the doctrine of the

\* SPELMAN, i., 572, 583, 584; LABB. et COSS., 1003—1008, 1020—1026; JOHNSON, Anno 957; COLLIER, i., 204.

† JOHNSON, Anno 957; INNETT, i., 353; SOAMES'S *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 218, 219.

present Church of Rome, but it corresponds with the views of the Church of England; so that the Anglo-Saxon church and the Church at present are agreed on this important point. These canons, therefore, afford decisive evidence against Romanism.

With respect to the *Laws Ecclesiastical* of King Edward, it may be observed that they furnish no evidence in favour of Rome\*. A British synod was held at Landaff, A.D. 1056, which appears to have been the last council before the Norman period.

It is therefore certain, that at the time of the Conquest, the faith of the Church on all important points was the same as at the present time. Thus we can fix upon certain periods in our history when the peculiar tenets of Rome were unknown; consequently they must have been the invention of later ages. It is further to be remarked, that the councils of the Anglo-Saxon times depended not on the authority of the pope but on that of the prince, without whose consent or concurrence no important matters were transacted†.

\* SPELMAN, i. ; JOHNSON, A.D. 1064.

† WAKE's *Authority*, 173.

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## CHAPTER III.—A.D. 1066—1330.

The Normans. Legates from Rome. Councils. Diocesan Synods. Separation of the Ecclesiastical Councils from the Civil. Anselm. Contest respecting Investitures. Legates permitted to hold Councils. Progress of the Roman Power. Thomas à Becket. Councils at this time. Constitutions of Clarendon. Councils. Langton's Constitutions. Legantine Councils. Othobon's Constitutions. Transubstantiation. Winchelsy's Constitutions. Various Councils.

It would be foreign to the objects contemplated in this work to enter into the particulars connected with the elevation of William the Conqueror to the English throne. That he ruled with an iron hand both the Church and the Saxons could testify. For a short time, however, everything proceeded quietly. He was crowned by the Archbishop of York: but it is not easy to decide why the Archbishop of Canterbury was not present to perform the ceremony. In a very short space the king began to elevate Normans to the highest dignities in the Church: and as the pope had supported his pretensions to the throne, he now advanced the power of the pope. A scheme was concerted by which, at the request of the king, the pope was to send two legates into England\*. This plan was devised under the show of veneration for the papal see, but in reality to promote his own objects under the shelter of papal countenance and support. "He who well knew the just boundaries of the royal power, and who through

\* INNETT, ii. 9; DUPIN, cent XI., chap. iii., p. 12.

all the rest of his reign kept the court of Rome at a distance, determined for the present to take sanctuary for his oppression, and to cover himself under the pretence of a seeming deference and submission to the pretended holy chair. In order thereunto he permitted the legates to do what had never been attempted from the first settlement of Christianity in the British isle, and what his successors had great reason to lament\*."

A.D. 1070.—The legates from Rome were permitted to summon a council, which met this year at Winchester. Until now the king or the archbishop had exercised this privilege. In this synod, Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed to make way for a Norman successor. Lanfranc was accordingly promoted to the office, and several other sees were also filled with Normans†. Papal writers make a great point of the presence of the legates at this council; yet it is clear that the permission on the part of the king was only a trick resorted to for the advancement of his own interests. It is also certain that nothing was decided or even discussed in the council without the royal permission; so that the fact of the presence of the legates cannot be adduced in support of the pretensions of Rome.

Lanfranc himself convened a synod of his province at London during the same year, in which the Bishop of Worcester was deprived for insufficiency, or want of learning. A monkish legend relates that Wulstan the bishop said to the king, taking off his robes, "A better man than thee arrayed me with these, to whom I will

\* INNETT, ii., 11.

† SPELMAN, ii., 3; INNETT, ii., 13; LABB. et COSS., ix., 1202.



restore them," placing them at the same time on the tomb of Edward the Confessor, to whom he owed his promotion. The story adds, that the bishop struck his pastoral staff with so much force into the pavement, that the strongest arm could not remove it, upon which the king and the archbishop relented, and the bishop was restored\*. Such is an outline of the story. It is certain that Wulstan continued in his see. The next year, at a council at Pedrede or Pederton, a new archbishop was consecrated to the see of York†.

A.D. 1072.—The two Norman archbishops were soon involved in a controversy respecting the primacy; and a synod was assembled for the purpose of adjusting their respective claims. It was at last decided that the Church of York should be subject to Canterbury, the Archbishop of York yielding obedience in all things pertaining to religion. The boundaries of the provinces were also fixed; and it was determined that the Archbishop of Canterbury should have the power of summoning the Archbishop of York and his suffragans to a synod, the latter yielding obedience to the canonical decisions of the former. The decision was attested by the king and queen, fourteen bishops, and eleven abbots‡.

In the year 1073, Hildebrand, the man who conceived the design of raising the papal power above all earthly kingdoms, was raised to the papacy by the name of Gregory VII. Soon after his accession, in a council of bishops at Rome, he stated his views, con-

\* SPELMAN, ii., 4; LABB. et COSS., ix., 1203-4.

† *Ibid.*

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 5; LABB. et COSS., ix., 1211-12; HODY, part iii., 12.



tending that the pope should be called the universal bishop; that he alone should have power to depose bishops; that his legates should preside in councils; that he should exercise the power of deposing kings; that the calling of councils should be his privilege; and that his decision should be final. We see here the germs of that power which was exercised by his successors over kings; and from this period we may date the commencement of that usurpation which became so oppressive in subsequent ages\*. The papal power succeeded at last in restraining the rights of kings: legates were sent into a kingdom, or a native bishop was appointed to the office. The Conqueror, indeed, never submitted, but only used the pope's authority to serve his own purpose, casting it off at his pleasure: and the same remark will apply to his sons, though in some cases circumstances compelled them to yield. But in process of time the power of Rome was rivetted on both kings and people.

A.D. 1075.—Lanfranc summoned a council to meet in St. Paul's Church, London. It was a national synod, both archbishops with their suffragans and many members of the religious orders being present. Many old canons were now revived. A question was also raised respecting the precedence of the bishops, and it was decided that the Archbishop of York should sit on the right hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London on the left, and Winchester next to York: or in the absence of the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London was to take place on the right, and Winchester on the left hand of the archbishop. In this council permission was granted to the Bishops

\* WAKE's *Authority*, 174—179.

of Salisbury, Chichester, and Lichfield, to remove their residences from villages to cities. Other matters were ordered to stand over until the king returned from the Continent. The decisions of this council were subscribed by the two archbishops, twelve bishops, twenty-one abbots, and one archdeacon\*. One of the canons is rather remarkable. It ordains that "none but bishops and abbots speak in council without license from the metropolitan," which certainly seems to indicate that at this time the lower clergy, though present, did not vote in national and provincial synods. It might, indeed, have been merely a regulation for the purpose of maintaining order†.

A.D. 1076.—Lanfranc now convened a council at Winchester, in which the question of clerical celibacy was discussed. Certain regulations were also agreed upon. It was ordained that no canon should marry; and that in future the bishops should not ordain any person, unless he was unmarried. The clergy in towns and villages were allowed to retain their wives. So that it is clear, from the proceedings of the council, that the question was not yet settled. These very canons prove also that the doctrine is a modern invention‡. It is supposed that Lanfranc prepared the way for the reception of the doctrine of *Transubstantiation* in the Church of England; for at the Conquest, it had not been received. It was introduced by the Norman clergy after many of the English had been removed§.

\* SPELMAN, ii. 7—11; LABB. et COSS., x., 346—350; COLLIER, i., 245.

† COLLIER, i., 246-248.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 13; LABB. et COSS., x., 351—353; JOHNSON, A.D. 1076.

§ INNETT, ii., 39; *De Antiq. Brit. Eccles.*, p. 114.

Two other councils appear to have met at Winchester about this time. Johnson, however, places them under the years 1070 and 1071, on the ground that the rates of penance subjoined to the proceedings of the councils are said to have been confirmed by the pope's legate, Hermanfride, who came over in 1070. One of the canons of the second council prohibits the burial of the dead in churches. The rules concerning penance, intended for those who had served in William's army, and had slain others in battle, are very singular. "Let him who knows that he has killed a man in the great battle do penance one year for every one." They justified war, and yet called upon the soldiers to do penance for acting in obedience to their orders. Again: "For every one that he struck, if he was not sure that he died, if he remember the number, forty days' penance for each man. If he knew not the number, let him do penance one day in every week at the bishop's discretion: or let him redeem it by building or endowing a church. Let him who intended to strike a man, though he did it not, do three days' penance. As to the clergy who fought, because they are forbidden to fight, let them repent as if they had sinned in their own country. Let them who fought through hopes of reward, do penance as for murder." These may be taken as a specimen, but there are others of a similar character\*.

It was also fixed at this council, that every bishop should summon his diocesan synod once in every year. Diocesan synods are now unknown, for since the Act of the 25th of Henry VIII., such councils cannot be held, except by royal permission. Their restoration, how-

\* SPELMAN, ii., 11, 12, 13. JOHNSON, A.D. 1070.



ever, would be for the advantage of the Church. Such synods, in ancient times, were composed of the bishop and certain presbyters, whose business it was to enforce the canons of general, national, or provincial councils, as well as to arrange rules of discipline for themselves. They are now, by the Act of Submission, set aside; but the *Reformatio Legum*, drawn up at the period of the Reformation, provided for their restoration, in conformity with the ancient and laudable practice of the Church. The mode of holding diocesan synods in these early times was as follows.

The clergy went in solemn procession to the church appointed by the bishop, taking their seats according to the priority of their ordination. The deacons and laity were then admitted; the bishop then addressed the audience, after which a sermon was preached. The clergy then submitted their complaints to the bishop: then the laity submitted theirs: and in the next place the bishop proposed his diocesan constitutions. A synodical exhortation to the clergy followed, and then the solemn benediction. Three days were assigned for holding these diocesan synods, though they separated sooner, if all the business was transacted. The ancient *form* is preserved in Spelman, and is exceedingly interesting. When the bishop entered into the synod: "Tunc dicat diaconus, *Orate: deinde, Erigite vos: tunc episcopus, versus ad Orientem, mediocri voce dicat, Deus vobiscum.*" The deacon then read a portion from the Gospel, after which the hymn *Veni Creator* was sung. The benediction was somewhat different at the close of each day. That for the *first* day was as follows.

"Qui dispersos Israel congregat, ipse vos hic et



ubique custodiat, Amen: et non solum vos custodiat, sed ovium suarum custodes idoneas efficiat, Amen. Ut cum summo pastore Christo, de gregum suorum passione gaudeatis in cœlo, Amen. Quod ipse parare dignetur."

The other *forms* are preserved in Spelman, to whose work I refer the reader for further information on this subject\*.

Councils were held in 1077 and 1078: but very little is known respecting their proceedings\*. But in the year 1085 a most important change was effected, by the Conqueror, in the mode of holding ecclesiastical councils. To this time, the bishops, with their clergy, met in the same court with the barons and commons. Thus the bishop and sheriff sat in the same court, the one deciding in ecclesiastical, the other in civil matters.

"If the matter to be deliberated upon were purely spiritual, the bishops went apart by themselves, and debated upon it†." Mixed affairs were settled in mixed assemblies of clergy and laity; but spiritual matters were discussed only by the clergy. Thus the *Laws Ecclesiastical* of Athelstan were made by authority of the bishops; while his other *Constitutions* were signed by all. Besides these mixed meetings, however, there were occasionally some assemblies, which were purely ecclesiastical convocations, or synods‡.

\* SPELMAN, ii., 1, 2. COLLIER, i., 249—50.

† *Ibid.*, 14. LABB. et COSS., x., 404.

‡ WAKE'S *Authority*, 158.

§ *Ibid.*, 162, 163. The following extract places the matter in a clear light: "Before the Conquest, the ecclesiastical and temporal court was the same, the bishop of every diocese sitting in judicature, together with the alderman or sheriff; and as one determined all matters merely *secular*, so did the

The law, by which William effected the change, states that the ancient canons respecting councils, were not regarded in England, which is strong evidence that our ancestors did not submit to Rome until after the Conquest. Popery was an usurpation on our ancient government. From this time, therefore, ecclesiastical matters were decided in purely ecclesiastical assemblies\*.

The first council of which any particulars remain, after this important change, was assembled in the next reign, on the death of Lanfranc. It appears, indeed, that Lanfranc held councils at Winchester, London, and Gloucester; but we are not able to trace their proceedings with any certainty. In the year 1092, however, a council was convened for the purpose of consecrating Anselm to the archbishopric of Canterbury. More properly, perhaps, this meeting may be regarded as merely an assembly of the bishops. When the instrument of election was read, the archbishop of York objected, that it was not correctly worded, inasmuch as the church of Canterbury was called "*Totius Britannię Metropolitana*," which would exclude the church of York from being a metropolitan church at all. The objection was admitted; and the word "*Primas*" was substituted for "*Metropolitana*," so that from this time the archbishop of Canterbury has been designated "*Totius Britannię Primas*†."

A. D. 1094 or 1095.—A council was assembled at other all that concerned the Church and religion: and if the course were mixed, they both performed their part, and gave their mutual assistance; though the bishops still held their synods and visitations, and there exercised the more important parts of discipline." JOHNSON'S *Vade Mecum*, i., 272.

\* SPELMAN, ii., 14, 15. JOHNSON, A.D. 1085.

† SPELMAN, ii., 15, 16. COLLIER, i., 267.

this time at Rockingham, for the purpose of deciding whether Anselm, consistently with his obedience to the see of Rome, could acknowledge the royal power in certain matters ecclesiastical. The pretensions of the papal see were now most extravagant: and Anselm was inclined to favour them; so that he became embroiled with his sovereign. The proceedings of this and the next reign mark the steps by which the popes arrived at that power, which became so oppressive to the sovereign and people. It is very remarkable, that when Hildebrand conceived the project of raising the papacy above the kingdoms of the world, many circumstances favoured his ambitious designs. The Empire was weak, the emperor and the German princes being in a state of discord; France under an infant sovereign; Spain under the dominion, or exposed to the incursions, of the Moors; Italy divided into many small states; and the Norman government in England not fully settled\*. The pope would not, however, have succeeded in England, had he not been supported by the clergy. William I. would not permit his bishops to attend a council at Rome, A.D. 1079, summoned for the purpose of confirming the supremacy. At length, our sovereigns becoming weaker, the Pope succeeded in his object in England. At this time there were two rival popes; one being recognised by the king, the other by the archbishop. Anselm requested permission to take the *pall* from Urban, whom the king rejected. He also told the archbishop, that no one could, by the laws of the land, own any pope or go to Rome without permission. The archbishop, therefore, assembled the council for the purpose of considering the

\* INNETT, ii., 40.



subject\*. The question was debated, whether Anselm could obey the king, and at the same time yield obedience to the holy see. The bishops, with one exception, recommended submission to the king, and, on his refusal, some of them refused to acknowledge him as their metropolitan†. In the end, a legate came over from Rome, the *pall* was received, and the matter apparently settled. Some time after, Anselm went to Rome in direct opposition to the king. The pope made an ineffectual attempt to interpose in his favour; for at present it was the law of the land, that the Bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction in England. No other ecclesiastical synod was held during this reign‡.

William died A.D. 1100, during Anselm's absence at Rome. His successor, Henry I., was induced to recall the archbishop, who came home entertaining the same notion respecting the papal see. He refused to do homage to the king, though the other bishops rendered it; alleging that the council at Rome, which had been held during his residence in that city, had prohibited the practice, together with that of receiving *investiture* from princes. At this time, the pope sent a legate to England, an act as offensive to Anselm as to the king, and both concurred in resisting his authority, on the ground, that such a proceeding was contrary to law. Still the motives by which the monarch and the prelate were influenced were different: the former resisted on the ground, that the papal see could not interfere in his kingdom; the prelate, from the conviction, that his own power, as metropolitan, would be

\* INNETT, ii., 73.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 79. 85. 91.

‡ WAKE'S *Authority*, 135.



weakened by the exercise of the legantine authority. In the issue, the legate was compelled to quit the country\*. Though, however, the king and the archbishop concurred on this point, there were others, respecting which they took opposite views. The question of *investiture* was one. It had been the custom for bishops, on doing homage to the king, to receive a *ring* and a *pastoral staff*. Attempts had been made to deprive the sovereign of this right; and bishops had occasionally refused to accept the *ring* and the *staff* from their sovereigns. In England, indeed, the bishops had generally submitted, before the time of Anselm; and even now, some of them declared, that they would rather quit the communion of the Church of Rome, than permit the laws of the land to be violated by papal decrees. While this dispute was going on, Robert, duke of Normandy, the king's brother, landed in England, and Henry, fearing lest Anselm and others should join his standard, yielded the point of *investitures*. By this concession, Anselm was kept quiet, and the two brothers were reconciled†.

The next year the archbishop was permitted to hold a council at London, at which the archbishop of York and certain other bishops were present. Two accounts, varying from each other in some particulars, are extant respecting this council. A body of canons was framed, but the most remarkable related to the question of clerical celibacy‡.

\* INNETT, ii., 94.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 105, 107, 108. See COLLIER, i., 300, and FATHER PAUL on Ecclesiastical Benefices and Revenues, LABB et COSS., x., 755, 756.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 21—25. JOHNSON, A.D. 1102. LABB et COSS., x., 728—30. *De Antiq. Brit. Eccles.* 118.

Though Henry had apparently yielded the point respecting *investitures* when the presence of his brother inspired him with fear, yet he did not keep the promise which he made; but he commanded the archbishop of York to consecrate those bishops who received *investiture* from him. Still some of the prelates hesitated; and, in these circumstances, the king sent Anselm to Rome to persuade the pope to yield the point, intending to forbid the archbishop's return in the event of a refusal. The pope refused, and Anselm was forbidden to return. Some time after, the archbishop visited the king's sister, at Blois, to whom he stated his intention of excommunicating her brother. Henry was unpopular among his subjects in consequence of the heavy burdens which had been imposed upon the country; and fearing lest his brother should gain the support of Anselm and the pope, he listened to the intercessions of his sister, and was reconciled to the archbishop\*. Anselm returned A. D. 1107. It was settled in a council, that none should be invested by the king; but it was conceded that none should be denied consecration on account of doing homage to the king. By such means did the papacy advance in England†. Henry yielded to the chains which Rome prepared: and at length the pontiffs, having acquired the power of investing individuals with the possessions of the Church, were acknowledged as supreme ordinaries. The next year, ten canons were agreed upon in another council, at London, which chiefly referred to clerical celibacy. It is clear, however, from the fact that so many canons

\* SPELMAN, ii., 25. INNETT, ii., 118.

† SPELMAN, ii., 27. JOHNSON, A. D. 1107. INNETT, ii., 123.

were enacted, that the clergy did not submit willingly to the yoke. A council was also convened in London in the ensuing year\*.

Anselm, who died A.D. 1109, was succeeded by Radulphus, who was enthroned without any application to Rome; so that even at this time, the ascendancy of the pope was not completely established. In the year 1115 the clergy of the bishopric of St. David's applied to Henry for a bishop. The king recommended one of his chaplains, who, on his consecration, made a profession of canonical obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury. About this time a legate was sent into England; but Henry, though he did not forbid his entrance, assured him, that he received him only as a private person, telling him also, that no legate could come into England without permission, and that he would not suffer the laws of the land to be broken. The legate, therefore, departed without exercising his office†.

Radulphus died A.D. 1123, when William Corbell was advanced to the see of Canterbury. It now became evident to the Roman pontiff, that his authority could not be established in England, unless his legates were permitted to exercise their office. Henry being now involved in difficulties, and being unwilling to offend the court of Rome, lest his difficulties should be increased, consented to receive *John De Crema* in the character of a legate from the pope. This fatal step was taken A.D. 1125‡. This same year, therefore, a council was summoned at Westminster, in which the legate presided.

\* SPELMAN, ii., 31, 32. JOHNSON, A.D. 1108. LABB. et COSS., x. 756, 757. 758.

† INNETT, ii., 149.

‡ *Ibid.*, ii., 152.



The archbishop, however, summoned the council; and, in the summons to the Bishop of Landaff, he expressly states, that the synod was to take place by his appointment\*. Henry was absent at the time, but the legate, on his way, obtained the royal permission to command the archbishop to summon a national council†. Yet this council was appealed to in after ages, as a proof of the right of the papal see to call, and preside in councils. The two archbishops, and twenty bishops, with many abbots, priors, archdeacons, and clergy, were present. Seventeen canons were enacted. By the *fourth*, no one was permitted to receive any ecclesiastical benefice from a layman without the consent of the bishop. This was intended to settle the question of *Incestitures*. Eventually, as we shall perceive, the papal see contended that the clergy were exempt from the civil authority altogether. Another canon related to celibacy; and, in short, the whole number was favourable to the pretensions of the Romish see‡.

Still a feeling of indignation existed in the country against the reception of a papal legate—a feeling in which the king was a participator, though he had consented to receive him. Under these circumstances, the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent to Rome to remonstrate with the pope on the subject. Never, perhaps, were the wily arts of Rome crowned with greater success than in this instance; for, though the archbishop protested strongly against the exercise of the legantine authority, yet he was induced by the pontiff to accept

\* INNETT, ii., 154; SPELMAN, ii., 33.

† WAKE'S *Authority*, 137.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 32—34; LABB. et COSS., x., 912—915; JOHNSON, A.D. 1126; COLLIER, i., 318, 319.



of the office for himself, and actually returned to England in the character of a legate from Rome. A controversy existed between the two archbishops; and it seems probable that Corbell accepted the office in order that he might exercise authority in the province of York. From this period we must "date the vassalage of the English Church, and lay the foundation of that authority to convene councils in England, to preside in them, and form canons therein, to which the bishops of Rome afterwards pretended. However, the archbishop did not penetrate into the consequences of his own indiscretion; but, having cured his own vanity by taking upon myself the character of legate, he returned to England to help forward the usurpation, which he went to Rome on purpose to suppress\*." According to Wake, however, he applied for the office in order to prevent the coming over of a legate from Rome, "and so unhappily brought the kingdom and his own dignity under a greater servitude†." Henry Wharton remarks that "he subjected his own see, and the Church of England, to the authority of the see of Rome, which before were wholly independent of it‡."

A.D. 1127.—Arriving in England in his new character, he summoned a council at Westminster, in which he presided as primate and legate. He mentions his new authority, "as if he had been fond of the chains he had helped to put about his own neck§." It was the first council of the kind held by an English archbishop||. Ten bishops were present, three of them from Wales; and *ten* canons were enacted. The *first*

\* INNETT, ii., 163.

+ WAKE'S *Authority*, 189.

‡ STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, vol. ii., 1040.

§ INNETT, ii., 165.

|| WAKE'S *Authority*, 189.

is couched in terms previously unknown to the Anglican Church: "By the authority of Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and our own." The *second* has the following expression: "By the authority of the Apostolic See." Hitherto the archbishops of Canterbury had summoned national councils by their own authority: this was convened by authority of the pope, and the archbishop submitted\*. Marriage was prohibited to priests, though, by the connivance of the civil power, the canons on the subject were for some time disregarded. Hody remarks, "This is the first ecclesiastical council that appears to me to have been held at the same time with a convention of the nobility, and yet in a separate place†." The question of celibacy was enforced by another council, A.D. 1129; but the execution of the law being left to the king, the clergy were permitted to retain their wives on paying certain sums into the royal exchequer‡.

A.D. 1138.—We now pass on to this year, when a council was convened under King Stephen, in which Alberic, bishop of Ostia, the papal legate, presided. Stephen had seized on the throne, on the death of his uncle, in 1135; and, to secure the favour of the pope, he consented to make concessions, which none of his predecessors ever contemplated. The pontiff, perceiving that it would be to his advantage to support Stephen, sanctioned his occupancy of the throne§. When this council was held, the see of Canterbury was vacant; but eighteen bishops, the proctor for the

\* SPELMAN, ii., 35, 36; LABB. et COSS., x., 920; JOHNSON, A.D. 1127; INNETT, ii., 165; COLLIER, i., 321.

† HODY, part iii., 37.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 37; LABB. et COSS., x., 942; INNETT, ii., 166.

§ INNETT, ii., 175.

Archbishop of York, with many of the clergy, were present. Seventeen canons were passed by the council, but they need not be noticed in this work\*. The Bishop of Winchester, the king's brother, who had been appointed the pope's legate, was anxious to obtain the see of Canterbury; but Theobald was raised to that dignity. Alberic quitted England shortly after the council, leaving the Bishop of Winchester to act as legate. In a little time, in order to humble King Stephen, the pope began to favour the claims of Maud, the daughter of Henry. At this time too, the Bishop of Winchester took the opportunity of being revenged on his brother, for his disappointment in not obtaining the see of Canterbury. As legate, he summoned a council at Winchester, A.D. 1139, to which the king was called, and in which the bishop acted with the greatest arrogance. From whatever cause, Stephen does not appear to have resented his brother's conduct†.

The commotions, consequent upon the rival claims of Maud the empress and Stephen, were favourable to the advancement of the pretensions of Rome. It was of little consequence to the pope whether the crown were possessed by one or the other: he knew that he must reap the advantage arising from the dispute. The Church, therefore, was in a very distracted state. Just at this time, Theobald, who was probably jealous of the Bishop of Winchester, and, wishing to exercise jurisdiction in the province of York, accepted the office of legate from the pope, who confirmed it to him and

\* SPELMAN, ii., 39—44; LABB. et COSS., x., 992—998; JOHNSON, A.D. 1138; COLLIER, i., 330, 331.

† INNETT, ii., 184; SPELMAN, ii., 44; LABB. et COSS., x., 1014-16.



his successors, who were designated *Legati Nati*, or *perpetual legates*. By such slow but sure advances did the Bishop of Rome establish his authority over the Anglican Church\*.

Several legantine councils were held about this time, of which, however, little is known. One was convened in 1140 or 1141, by Theobald, archbishop and legate; another, A.D. 1142, by the Bishop of Winchester as legate; another also met the same year at Westminster under the same authority; and a third at Winchester, A.D. 1143. In the council of 1142, King Stephen having been taken prisoner by the forces of the empress, the legate proclaimed Maud queen. For a time, every thing seemed to favour her cause. It is, indeed, said, that her failure was owing entirely to the legate—a circumstance which evidences the power of the Church at this time. At first the legate attended Maud as a part of her court, but on her refusal to grant certain earldoms in Normandy to his nephew, he absented himself; and having formerly excommunicated all who opposed the empress, he now absolved them from the sentence, and at the same time declared that he owed her no allegiance†. The empress endeavoured, but without effect, to regain the legate; and the Earl of Gloucester, being taken prisoner by some of Stephen's adherents, was exchanged for the king. It was at this juncture that a council met at Westminster, in which King Stephen was present to complain of the injuries which he had received from his people. The wily pontiff addressed a letter to the legate, which was

\* INNETT, ii., 187, 188.

† SPELMAN, ii., 44, 45—47; LABB. et COSS., x., 1024, 1029-33; COLLIER, i., 335, 336; INNETT, ii., 193.



read at the council, and in which he complains that Stephen was not set at liberty, though he had previously supported the claims of the empress. The legate now stated that he had acted involuntarily in his transactions with Maud; and he commanded all, in the name of God and the pope, to submit to Stephen\*. The council of 1143 was called to check the barbarities of the war. A canon was enacted, that none who violated a church or churchyard, or laid violent hands on a clergyman, should be absolved except by the pope†.

During these confusions the papal power was advanced to a great extent in England: the legate actually turned the scale in favour of Stephen. It was, therefore, agreed that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life, but that at his death it should go to Henry Duke of Normandy, the son of the empress. Appeals to Rome now became common, originating in the disputes between the legate and the archbishop‡. Stephen died A.D. 1154. It was in this reign that the pope's canon law was introduced into England. It was compiled into a code by Gratian, and published by Eugenius III. A.D. 1151§. And as the question is one of considerable interest, it will be desirable to devote a short space to its consideration, which I shall do in a subsequent chapter, as the whole body of the canon law was not completed till a later period.

Henry succeeded to the throne in right of his mother, the empress, the daughter of Henry I. Some time elapsed before any council or synod was summoned;

\* SPELMAN, ii., 46; COLLIER, i., 336.

† SPELMAN, ii., 47; JOHNSON, A.D. 1143; COLLIER, i., 337.

‡ JOHNSON, A.D. 1143; COLLIER, i., 336, 340.

§ HODY, 215.

but in 1160 one was convened at Oxford against certain heretics, who came over from the Continent. The parties were subjected to punishment, and their opinions appear to have been suppressed. It was ordered, that no person should relieve these poor creatures, so that they actually perished from want\*. It appears that, besides the council just mentioned, two others were held, one in 1154, and another in 1157; but their proceedings were not of general interest†.

On the death of Theobald in 1162, Thomas à Becket, who was already chancellor, was chosen to succeed him in a council of the bishops of the province, assembled at London. The choice also was confirmed by the king‡. From the time of his promotion, he became a different man; and never did a sovereign commit a greater mistake than Henry, in his advancement of Becket. He soon entered upon a quarrel with the king, relative to the question, whether the clergy should be subject to the same laws as the laity. Under these circumstances, a convention met at Clarendon, in which several constitutions were made on this subject; but as the assembly was more of a parliament than an ecclesiastical synod, it will not be necessary to dwell at length upon its proceedings in this work. Several of the constitutions, however, relate to the clergy, and originated in the separation of the temporal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the time of William I. There was now a struggle between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The *third* article, therefore, provides, that

\* SPELMAN, ii., 59, 60; LABB. et COSS., x., 1404; COLLIER, i., 348; INNETT, 233.

† LABB. et COSS., x., 1140, 1176—1184.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 61; LABB. et COSS., x., 1410.

clergymen are to answer accusations in the civil as well as in the ecclesiastical courts; but in the latter case the king's judge or justice was authorized to send to the court to ascertain how matters were conducted. By the *eighth* article, the king is made the party to whom final appeals were to be sent. This enactment was evidently intended to check the practice of carrying appeals to Rome; and it is clear, that Henry was resolved to oppose the growing influence and encroachment of the papal see. Becket did not sanction these Articles. In the year 1163 he had gone to the synod of Tours, at which the pope was present, by whom he was honoured with a chair at his right hand. The pontiff understood Becket's character; and in consequence of the favour shown him by the pope, he returned with still loftier notions of the ecclesiastical power. In a council at Westminster, the king demanded of the bishops, whether they would observe the ancient customs of the kingdom. They replied that they would do so, *saving their order*. Becket promised the king that he would comply without any such *salvo*; and to enforce a public ratification of this promise, the convention of Clarendon was summoned. Yet, after all, Becket refused to comply, and retired to the Continent, whence he fulminated his anathemas against the king and his subjects. This state of things continued during seven years; but at length a reconciliation was effected, and Becket returned to England\*.

The circumstances connected with Becket's death, which took place soon after his return, need not be detailed. The king excused himself at Rome; nor

\* SPELMAN, ii., 63, 64; JOHNSON, A.D. 1164; COLLIER, i., 351—353; WARNER, i., 360, 361; LABB. et COSS., x., 1425-7.



did the pope deem it expedient openly to charge his majesty with the murder; but eventually the pontiff was enabled to use the event to the advantage of the see of Rome, for the king to free himself from the imputation of murder, consented to proposals which involved a renunciation of those rights for which he had been contending. In the year 1172 he met the papal legates in Normandy, when he agreed to permit appeals to Rome—to go to Jerusalem for three years to fight for the Holy Land—to recall Becket's friends—and to repeal all customs introduced during his reign prejudicial to the interests of the Church. Thus did the king relinquish all for which he had contended;—thus did he confirm the papal usurpation in England\*. “Watered with Becket's blood, the papal usurpation soon grew up to its full completement and perfection†.” By such steps did the pope establish his power over the Anglican Church. The articles of Clarendon were now set aside by the concessions which were wrung from the king, who was mainly instrumental in aiding the designs of the papal see. William I. called in the aid of the pope to depose some of the Saxon prelates; Stephen got his title to the crown confirmed at Rome, and solicited the legantine power for his brother; and even Henry II., to serve his own interests, accepted from Pope Adrian a title to the kingdom of Ireland. The authority, therefore, which these sovereigns countenanced, when it suited their purpose, became at length, by various arts, in which the popes were better versed than the monarchs, superior to that of the crown.

\* JOHNSON, A.D. 1164; INNETT, ii., 280; COLLIER, i., 379;

† INNETT, ii., 281.



A.D. 1175.—Richard, prior of Dover, succeeded Becket in the archbishopric. He summoned a council to meet at Westminster, at which were present the king and his son, with eleven bishops, exclusive of the Bishop of St. David's. A body of canons, drawn from the decrees of councils and popes, was framed and promulgated\*. The Archbishop of York now claimed the privilege of having his cross carried before him in the province of Canterbury; and the result of the controversy was an appeal to Rome, a proceeding never objected to by the pope, whose power was magnified, and whose interests were promoted, by such measures. The king endeavoured to settle the dispute between the two metropolitans in a council at Winchester, but without effect. At last Cardinal Hugo was sent as legate from the pope, with authority to determine the question: yet the object of his mission was only partially accomplished. He presided, however, in a council at Westminster, A.D. 1176, the Archbishop of Canterbury taking his seat on the right, and the place on the left of the legate being assigned to the Archbishop of York. The latter prelate was so exasperated that he seated himself in Canterbury's lap. Confusion ensued in the council—York was trampled upon, and the parties made their appeal to Rome. It appears, too, that other councils, though little is known respecting them, were held about this time†.

Henry died in the year 1189, the kingdom being in great confusion, and the see of Rome triumphant. Richard, who succeeded to the throne, undertook the

\* SPELMAN, ii., 103—107; LABB. et COSS., x., 1461—1468; JOHNSON, A.D. 1175; COLLIER, i., 381, 382.

† LABB. et COSS., x., 1479-80.

journey to Palestine, and during his absence all ecclesiastical affairs were managed at Rome. The usurpation, which was now completed, continued, though not without efforts on the part of some of the sovereigns to cast it off, until the Reformation. The legates exercised all power in the Church; and sometimes, when the legantine authority was vested in a bishop, the metropolitan was subject to one of his suffragans. By a constitution of Pope Alexander III., directed to the province of Canterbury, it was stated, that, though as metropolitan the archbishop had no cognizance of ecclesiastical matters, yet as legate he could adjust all cases which might be referred to his adjudication\*.

The legantine authority was granted to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who, in 1195, summoned a council at York. The dean and chapter protested against his authority as archbishop, but submitted to him as legate,—a circumstance which shows that the clergy were generally favourable to the pretensions of the pope. Several constitutions were sanctioned by this council, taken generally from the more recent councils, though some few were selected from the ancient canons†.

A.D. 1200.—This year a national council was assembled, by Hubert, at London. Canons, as usual, were enacted for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. The king was absent in France at the time; and the chief justice of the kingdom made his appearance in the council, and protested against the proceedings, on the ground that it was not sanctioned by the sovereign. The legate acted by his own authority; and the fact of

\* INNETT, ii., 312, 313.

† SPELMAN, ii., 120—123; JOHNSON, A.D. 1195; LABB. et COSS., x., 1792-5; INNETT, ii., 363, 364; COLLIER, i., 407.

calling a council under such circumstances, proves that the pope's power was firmly established. This appears to have been the first decided instance of that independent power, which was exercised by the papal legates, and which continued until the Reformation\*.

Hubert died in 1206, when a double election was made by the monks of Canterbury. To put an end to the dispute, the pope rejected both the individuals selected by the monks, and promoted Stephen Langton to the archbishopric. The appointment was subsequently confirmed by the monks; but the king refused to receive him, and the kingdom was placed under an interdict. It was published A.D. 1207, and generally observed, so that all the offices of religion, except baptism, confession, and the offices to the dying, were suspended. In the year 1209, the king was excommunicated, and subsequently he was actually deposed. The king was at length so broken in spirit, that he yielded to the pope's demands. Among the humiliating conditions, which were imposed upon John by the haughty pontiff, was this, that he should hold his kingdom as a *fee* of the papacy, and pay an annual tribute to Rome. The king even consented to receive back his crown from the hands of the papal legate, by whom the interdict was removed in a council at London A.D. 1214. It seems that a council was held earlier this year at Dunstable, from which two persons were deputed to ask the legate to stay proceedings†. So

\* SPELMAN, ii., 123—128; JOHNSON, A.D. 1200; ECHARD'S *History*, i., 234; LABB. et COSS., xi., 14—20. It seems that John Ferentinus, the papal legate, held a synod at Reading in 1206, and quitted England with a large sum of money.—WAKE'S *Authority*, 194.

† LABB. et COSS., xi., 102; WAKE'S *Authority*, 196.



completely was King John subdued by the tyrannical pope, that he was actually forced to say, that he acted in the whole business of his own free will\*. The king died in 1214, and was succeeded by Henry III.

A.D. 1222.—This year Langton convened a council at Oxford for the reformation of the Church. A large body of canons was put forth, under the title of *Archbishop Langton's Constitutions*, many of which were taken from the decrees of the Lateran council, A.D. 1216†. These constitutions may be seen in the works to which I have referred.

Another council appears to have been held at Westminster in 1226, in which the papal legate submitted certain proposals for raising money for the pope‡. These requests, however, were refused. Ten years later, certain constitutions were published under the name of Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, but how, or in what council, they were enacted, it is not possible to determine§. One of them is so curious, relative to confession, that I shall quote a portion of it: "The priest at confession is to have his face and eyes looking toward the ground, not in the countenance of the penitent, especially if it be a woman. Let him inquire after usual sins, but not after unusual, unless it be at a distance and indirectly." The reader will determine whether such a rule is in conformity with the present

\* SPELMAN, ii., 135; LABB. et COSS., xi., 102, 103.

† SPELMAN, ii., 181—189; JOHNSON, A.D. 1222; LABB. et COSS., xi., 270—287.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 190; LABB. et COSS., xi., 302, 303; COLLIER, i., 429; WAKE'S *Authority*, 196.

§ SPELMAN, ii., 199—208; JOHNSON, A.D. 1236; LABB. et COSS., xi., 503—514.



practice of the Church of Rome, and with the rules exhibited in Dens's Theology.

A.D. 1237.—King Henry invited Otto into England, as legate from the pope, who summoned a council this year at London. This was a council of both provinces, a national or legantine synod. On the first day, the legate was absent; but the decrees intended to be enacted were submitted to the council. The second day he appeared with great pomp, seated on an elevated throne, supported on his right by the Archbishop of Canterbury, on his left by the Archbishop of York. A prohibition was sent from the king, forbidding the council to enact any decrees against the dignity of the crown. In this council the papal canonization of St. Francis and St. Dominic was made public. The decrees were prepared by the legate, and then submitted to the council for their approval\*.

It was a common custom at this time for the papal legates to endeavour to raise money for the pope, by means of councils. In 1255, Rustandus, the legate, called a council for this purpose, but failed in his object.

A.D. 1268.—Othobon, the papal legate, convened a council, at which a body of constitutions was drawn up, which are known under the name of the legate. These canons were of great authority in this and the subsequent ages. They may be seen in the authorities specified in the margin†. Two years later, Walter Grey, the Archbishop of York, published his provin-

\* SPELMAN, ii., 218—229; LABB. et COSS., xi., 525—544; JOHNSON, A.D. 1237; WARNER, i., 455-6.

† SPELMAN, ii., 263—289; LABB. et COSS., xi., 866—907; JOHNSON, A.D. 1268; COLLIER, i., 474; WARNER, i., 470—471.

cial constitutions, without the authority of a synod,—a practice by no means uncommon in this age, and for some years after the Reformation. Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, had also, with the sanction of the provincial synod at Lambeth, put forth certain constitutions, for the use of his suffragans, a few years before. From the proceedings of another provincial synod, held at Merton, by the same archbishop, in 1258, it is clear, that, at this time, the inferior clergy were represented in convocation by the archdeacons. The constitutions of this Merton synod were nearly similar to those of Lambeth\*.

A. D. 1279.—Peckham was now in the see of Canterbury; and in a provincial synod this year at Reading, the constitutions of Othobon were read, after which the Archbishop submitted to the council those canons which are still known under his own name. They are of the usual character of the constitutions of those times†. In a synod at Lambeth, in 1281, the canons of the previous council of Lyons and those of Lateran, A. D. 1216, were recited. By a decree of this synod it would seem that the doctrine of transubstantiation had now arrived at maturity. The following canon or rule was adopted:—“Let the bells be tolled at the elevation of the body of Christ, that the people, wherever they are, in houses or fields, may bow their knees, in order to have the indulgences.” Communion in one kind also seems now to have been common, for the priests are instructed to inform the people that the body and blood of Christ are

\* SPELMAN, ii., 290—295, 305—315; LABB. et COSS., xi. 703—705, 803—815; JOHNSON, A. D. 1250; COLLIER, i., 468.

† SPELMAN, ii., 320—27; LABB. et COSS., xi., 1062—70; JOHNSON, A. D. 1279.

given, them at once under the species of bread; "nay, the whole living and true Christ, who is entirely under the species of the sacrament: and let them at the same time instruct them, that what at the same time is given them to drink is not the sacrament, but mere wine, to be drunk for the more easy swallowing of the sacrament which they have taken." From this it is clear that the communion was at this time administered to the clergy only. Several reasons are assigned by Lyndwood for the practice, which I give as curious specimens of papal reasoning in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They are these: *first*, lest the people should believe that the whole Christ was not contained under one species; *secondly*, lest the blood should be spilled; *thirdly*, because the people under the law did not partake of the drink offering; *fourthly*, because it would be indecent to consecrate so large a quantity of wine as would be required in large parishes. The third constitution allows of *lay-baptism*, and prohibits *rebaptization*\*. Popery was now at its full growth in England, as is evident from these constitutions. A council had also been held at Lambeth in the preceding year, but little is known of its proceedings; and another was called in 1291, at London, to consider the question of the expulsion of the Jews, who at this period were generally subjected to the most cruel treatment from the Church†.

A. D. 1295.—Archbishop Winchelsy, following the practices of his predecessors, now published a body of constitutions for the regulation of the court belonging

SPELMAN, ii., 323—41; LABB. et COSS., xi., 1156—1174; JOHNSON, A. D. 1281; COLLIER, i., 480—484.

† LABB. et COSS., xi., 1124, 1360.



to the see of Canterbury. The king, however, sent a prohibition lest anything should be decreed which might be prejudicial to the rights of the sovereign. It is preserved in Spelman in French, which was then the language of the courts of law\*. In 1296 a council was convened in which excommunication was denounced against those who should infringe the liberties granted by the king in the great charter†. Another council was also held in 1297‡. At this period the Commons were first summoned to Parliament. Prior to this reign the great men only had been called to the great council. At the same time, the *premunitory* clause, of which I shall have to speak in a subsequent chapter, was first inserted in the bishops' writs. It appears, therefore, that this was the first time of summoning the clergy to a national assembly by royal writ§.

A. D. 1300.—Winchelsy held a provincial synod at Merton, in which certain synodal constitutions were formed relative to tithes, the repairs and furniture of churches, and other kindred matters||. Certain canons were issued also by the Archbishop of York, which had been agreed upon in a provincial council at Ripon A. D. 1306. They relate to the morals of the clergy, celibacy, the clerical dress, and various other subjects¶. In 1308 other constitutions were agreed upon in a synod at Winchester, relating especially to baptism, the seven

\* SPELMAN, ii., 413—27; LABB. et COSS., xi., 1405—21; WAKE'S *Authority*, 206.

† WAKE'S *Authority*, 232.

‡ LABB. et COSS., xi., 1421—5; WAKE'S *Authority*, 232.

§ WARNER, i., 479.

|| SPELMAN, ii., 431—37; LABB. et COSS., xi., 1435—8; JOHNSON, who assigns them to the year 1205.

¶ SPELMAN, ii., 439—445.



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\* SPELMAN, ii., 445—458.

† SPELMAN, ii., 458—466; LABB. et COSS., xi., 1502—1512; COLLIER, i., 507.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 467—475; LABB. et COSS., xi., 2468—76.

§ JOHNSON, A.D. 1322.

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\* SPELMAN, ii., 493—496; LABB. et COSS., xi., 2476—82.

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In the fourteenth century the *canon law* was become very voluminous, and the chief business of our national and provincial synods was to enforce the papal decisions, or to extract from them certain rules for the regulation of the various dioceses. Some of the laws were not applicable to every country; consequently, extracts from the body of the canon law were made from time to time by various archbishops and by the papal legates. Lyndwood made a collection of the *constitutions* drawn up by fourteen archbishops of Canterbury from the canon law, commencing with Stephen Langton, A. D. 1206, and ending with Henry Chichley, A. D. 1443. These were digested by Lyndwood into various heads, according to the method of the canon law; so that his work shows how much, and what parts, were received in the Church of England previous to the Reformation. These constitutions had been sanctioned by various synods; and, though originally prepared for the province of Canterbury, yet they were expressly received by the convocation of York A. D. 1463.

Such was the canon law as received in this country prior to the Reformation. Everything was under the domination of the pope. The *Provincials* of Lyndwood indeed were not compiled until after the period now under review; but I have noticed them in this place in order that the subject may be dismissed\*. We now proceed with the history of Anglican councils.

\* *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Paris, 1618; LYNDWOOD's *Provinciale, seu Constitutiones Anglic.*, &c.; AYLIFFE's *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani*, Introduction; JOHNSON's *Vade Mecum*, i., 272, 273; RIDLEY's *View of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law*, 98, &c.; GIBSON's *Codex*. In the Table he gives all the provincial and legantine constitutions in chronological order, with their various titles as they stand in Lyndwood. GREY's *Ecclesiastical Law*, 8, 9, 10, 11.

A.D. 1342. This year a synod of the province of Canterbury was held at London, at which a large body of constitutions was sanctioned. By the *fourth*, lands are made liable for the repair of churches. It is clear, therefore, that the present possessors of lands cannot complain, inasmuch as they neither inherited nor purchased that portion which goes to the church in the shape of church-rates\*. During the same, or the succeeding year, Archbishop Stratford convened a synod of his province in London. One of the constitutions, the *eleventh*, is remarkable, as referring to the publication of banns previous to marriage. The rest partake of the general character of such documents as were common to the age†. Collier notices the last canons under the year 1342, without any reference to others of the same period, adding, "These canons are made and published under the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the advice and consent of the bishops of the province: and all without the least mention of the concurrence of the inferior clergy‡." The omission of the mention of the clergy, however, does not necessarily imply their absence; otherwise we must infer that the bishops were not present in some provincial councils, since they are not always actually mentioned.

A.D. 1360.—Archbishop Zouche had published certain constitutions in the province of York, A.D. 1347, which were now confirmed in a provincial council under his successor, John Thursby. The *second* constitution

\* SPELMAN, ii., 572—580. LABB, et COSS., xi., 1877—86. JOHNSON, A.D. 1342.

† SPELMAN, ii., 581—591. LABB, et COSS., xi., 1886—98. JOHNSON, A.D. 1343.

‡ COLLIER, i., 546.

regulates the management of new-born infants, and presents a somewhat curious picture of the manners of the times. Nurses and parents are prohibited from having young children in bed with them lest suffocation should ensue. The *third* relates to *tithes*, and is a striking illustration of the feelings of our fathers on this important subject. It refers especially to the mode of levying the *tithe* of corn, ordaining that the clergy should be allowed to remove the *tenth* sheaves by the same roads through which the rest were taken by the occupiers of the soil. It is stated in the constitution that this liberty had been enjoyed beyond the memory of man; but it is added that some degenerate sons of holy Mother Church, not considering the favour of God in giving them *nine* parts, had obstructed the clergy in divers manners by *malicious inventions*, such as compelling them to remove them by circuitous roads instead of the accustomed ones. Some of the owners of lands would not allow of the removal of the sheaves in sufficient time, and permitted them to be trampled upon by their cattle. All these things are prohibited by this constitution. The *fifth* relates to the clerical dress, assigning as a reason for strict propriety, that the laity imitate the manners of the clergy. It is particularly added, that they are not to "seek glory from their shoes." The *seventh* relates to marriage, and ordains that banns should be published on three solemn days previous to the solemnization\*.

Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, issued certain constitutions in 1362, and though it is not stated in the title, that they were agreed upon in a synod, yet

\* SPELMAN, ii., 602—608. JOHNSON, A.D. 1347 and 1363. LABB. et COSS., xi., 2482—92.



it is mentioned in one of the canons that he acted with the advice and consent of his brethren: so that it is clear that they were settled in a provincial synod. The most remarkable is that which fixes the number of festivals on which persons were to abstain from labour. The solemnity of the dedication of every parish church is especially mentioned. It may here be remarked that this is the origin of our *feasts* or *wakes*\*. A synod was held in 1376, which is remarkable for the circumstance that Courtney, bishop of London, successfully opposed the proposal of a grant of money to the king†.

A.D. 1377.—About this time John Wicliff was summoned to answer the charge of heresy alleged against him by his enemies. Into his history I need not enter: all I have to do is to notice the proceedings of convocation respecting him and his opinions. The pope directed his letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury, commanding him to institute a process against Wicliff, who was also summoned to appear at Rome. He was accordingly cited to appear before the synod in London. A vast concourse of people assembled at the meeting, among whom was the Duke of Lancaster, who defended Wicliff. In consequence of this powerful support, the only sentence passed by the synod was that of silence. At a subsequent synod at Lambeth, after an explanation of some of his views, he was dismissed with a similar injunction to silence‡.

In 1378, certain constitutions were agreed upon in a synod at Lambeth, under Archbishop Sudbury, the object of which appears to have been the regulation of

\* SPELMAN, ii., 609—612. JOHNSON, A.D. 1362.

† *Biog. Brit.*, ART. COURTNEY.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 621—625. COLLIER, i., 565—567.



the price to be received by the priests in performing masses for the dead\*.

A.D. 1382.—The opinions of Wicliff continued to advance among the people, and the bishops deemed it necessary to interpose. Accordingly Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a meeting of his suffragans and others, by whom some of Wicliff's views were pronounced to be erroneous and heretical. Nine points were, it appears, selected as heretical, referring to the *sacrament of the altar*, the papal succession, and various abuses of the Romish church. Twelve other points were condemned, not as heretical, but as erroneous. At a subsequent meeting, or synod, several persons were condemned for holding the views of Wicliff†. A convocation is mentioned by some authorities, under the year 1383, at Oxford, in which, after a subsidy had been granted, the synod proceeded to make inquiries respecting heresy‡. It appears that a provincial synod was held in 1391, when a statute of Archbishop Winchelsy's, concerning stipendiary priests, was renewed; another also had been convened shortly before, in which a tenth was granted to the king. About the same time a council met at St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, in which a tenth was granted to the king on condition of his going to France§.

A.D. 1394.—Lollardism, as it was termed, continuing

\* SPELMAN, ii., 626. LABB. et COSS., xi., 2051. JOHNSON, A.D. 1378.

† SPELMAN, ii., 629—631—636. LABB. et COSS., xi., 2052—2061. COLLIER, i., 573, 574—576. *Biog. Brit.*, Art. COURTNEY.

‡ COLLIER, i., 576. *Biog. Brit.*, Art. COURTNEY. WOOD'S *Antiq.* 192-3.

§ SPELMAN, ii., 640. LABB. et COSS., xi., 2077—79. JOHNSON, A.D. 1391. *Biog. Brit.*, Art. COURTNEY.

to increase, the synod, or convocation, of the province of Canterbury, assembled at Oxford for the purpose of endeavouring to check its progress. Certain constitutions were adopted, which were renewed in 1408. A synod is also mentioned as having been assembled about this time at London, in which several articles, extracted from the writings of Wicliff, were condemned\*. Archbishop Arundel convened a council at London in 1398, in which several new festivals were appointed to be observed, namely, those of St. David, St. Chad, and St. Winifrede. It was also appointed that "a commemoration of the most glorious martyr St. Thomas be laudably observed everywhere in our province of Canterbury, once in every week†." Councils appear too to have been held in the years 1400, 1402, and 1404, of which, however, few particulars are preserved‡.

A.D. 1408.—It has been stated that the constitutions of Oxford of 1394 were renewed in London in 1408. Thirteen constitutions exist, which are levelled against heretics, and especially against Wicliff. We find that repeated attempts were made in this and the succeeding age to suppress the advancing opinions of Wicliff, who has been not inaptly styled the morning-star of the Reformation §.

It appears that the convocation, in its present form, was settled about this time. Until now the archbishops, or legates, assembled provincial or national councils; but at this period the king began to claim the power of

\* SPELMAN, ii., 649—55. COLLIER, i., 600.

† JOHNSON, A.D. 1398.

‡ LABB. et COSS., xi., 2082—2083.

§ SPELMAN, ii., 662—668. JOHNSON, A.D. 1408. COLLIER, i., 625—27. LABB. et COSS., 2089—3002.

assembling the convocation\*. The constitution of the convocation will be considered in another chapter; but it may be remarked, that from the reign of Edward I., when the Commons were first assembled in parliament, it became the practice to assemble the convocation of the clergy also†.

During the same year in which the previous synod was held, another was convened, for the purpose of choosing delegates to attend the council, which was shortly to be assembled at Pisa. There was now a schism in the papacy, and the archbishop proposed that the *Peter-pence* should be sequestrated for the use of the king, until the breach should be healed. The proposal was also sanctioned by the convocation‡. Three years later another synod is mentioned, in which a complaint of heresy was alleged against the University of Oxford, which led to a visitation§. A council, too, appears to have been summoned in 1413 at London against the followers of Wicliff||.

A.D. 1415.—The proceedings in the national and provincial synods are so many landmarks, by which the advances of the papacy in England may be traced. At this time much stress was laid on the observance of times and seasons. The king, it seems, had recommended that St. George's Day should be kept with greater solemnity. Archbishop Chichley, therefore, called a synod of his province, by which certain constitutions were issued on the subject. After an allusion

\* WAKE'S *Authority*, 230. FULLER, v., 190.

† WAKE'S *Authority*, 224—5—29—31.

‡ COLLIER, i., 628.

§ COLLIER, i., 628. WOOD'S *Antiq.* 205.

|| LAMB, et COSS, 2323—6.



to the blessings supposed to be derived from patron saints, we have the following passage in the constitutions: "Upon consideration of this, the faithful people of England, though bound to praise God in all his saints, yet especially to sound forth praises and venerate him with peculiar honours in his 'most glorious martyr the blessed George, the special patron and protector of the nation, as the speech of the world and the experience of grace (the best interpreter of all things) attest. For by his intervention, not only the English army is protected against the assaults of enemies in time of war, but the host of the clergy are strengthened in their peaceable fight under so great a patron." The constitutions proceed to enact that the day shall be observed for ever with great solemnity. The feasts of St. David, St. Chad, and St. Winifrede are also ordered to be perpetually celebrated\*. In this convocation it seems that the bishops met in one place, and the priors, deans, archdeacons, and proctors of dioceses in another. This is the earliest notice of their separation into two distinct houses†.

A.D. 1416.—The next year another synod met in London. In this assembly a statute was framed respecting the probate and administration of wills, and another on the subject of heresy. With respect to heresy it is ordained, that inquiries be made on the subject twice every year at least, and that two or three persons in every suspected place should be sworn to give information respecting those who were accustomed to frequent conventicles, or who differed in their conduct from the generality of the faithful, or had suspected

\* SPELMAN, ii., 669; JOHNSON, A.D. 1415.

† *Biographia Britannica*, Art. *Chichley*.



books in the vulgar tongue. It further enjoins that persons already convicted, but not actually given over to the secular power according to the statute of Henry IV., should be imprisoned for life, or until the next convocation of the province of Canterbury, as the case might require\*. In another constitution of a synod in the same year, we meet with a most remarkable illustration of the gross superstition of the period. It relates to John of Beverley, an old Saxon saint, some of whose miracles are specified by Bede†. After an enumeration of some of the special advantages arising from the merits of the saints, the victory of Agincourt is ascribed to John of Beverley. John was buried at York, but the body was removed to Beverley, the day of the translation being observed as a festival. The victory at Agincourt was gained on this day, and at the meeting of the convocation several witnesses affirmed that during the battle his tomb distilled drops of oil. This circumstance was regarded by the convocation "as an indication of the divine mercy, without doubt through the merits of the said most holy man." It was decreed, therefore, that the day of his death as well as that of his translation should be solemnly observed‡.

Several synods were assembled by Chichley, who was exceedingly active in his station. In the years 1417, 1419, and 1421, ordinances were passed respecting the regulation of the universities; and in one a priest was charged with witchcraft. In 1422, 1423, 1426, 1428, the synod was duly assembled: but little

\* SPELMAN, ii., 670.

† BEDE, lib. v., c. 2.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 672—674; JOHNSON, A.D. 1416; *Biographia Britannica*, Art. *Chichley*.

appears to have been transacted beyond the grant of subsidies. In that of 1428, indeed, the pope's nuncio endeavoured to procure a grant for the pope: but the proposal was rejected\*. As the convocation was so ready to grant subsidies to the sovereign, they were rewarded by an Act of Parliament, by which they were protected in going to and returning from the synod. In 1430 a council was summoned for the purpose of choosing delegates to attend the council of Basil. In this synod a decree was also passed against what was termed the *uncel*, or false weights†. Two years afterwards the archbishop convened his synod in London, to consider the dispute between the pope and the council of Basil, when it was determined to send delegates to both parties. A complaint was made in this council by some of the clergy against the bishops, on the ground that they were but slenderly qualified for their important posts‡. The next year, the differences between the council of Basil and the pope still continuing, it was determined in a synod to send more delegates to Basil. In 1434 a festival was ordered by another council to be observed in honour of St. Frideswide§. In 1437 we meet with a dispute between the two houses of convocation respecting the council of Basil and the pope. Several other synods were summoned by Chichley, who died A.D. 1443||.

\* SPELMAN, ii., 675, 676, 677; LABB. et COSS., xii., 343; COLLIER, 648; *Biographia Britannica*, Art. *Chichley*.

† SPELMAN, ii., 687, 688; JOHNSON, A.D. 1430; COLLIER, i., 658; LABB. et COSS., xii., 439, 440; *Biographia Britannica*, Art. *Chichley*.

‡ COLLIER, i., 660.

§ JOHNSON, A.D. 1434.

|| SPELMAN, ii., 689; JOHNSON, A.D. 1439; LABB. et COSS., xii., 1282.

A.D. 1444.—During this year a synod was held in the province of York, in which a constitution of Archbishop Winchelsy's respecting stipendiary priests was adopted\*. The next year Archbishop Stafford summoned the convocation of his province. In this synod the *feast* of King Edward the Confessor was renewed. In allusion to the saints the following passage occurs in the decisions of the council: "At whose intercession God confirms peace, takes away pestilence and famine, establishes kingdoms, and gives victories, and very often by a miraculous power imparts health to desperate diseases." Then after stating that every church is bound to honour its own saints, the decree proceeds: "Therefore that the divine majesty may be more amply glorified in the saints in our holy mother the Church of England, which is irradiated by the prayers and frequent miracles of the most blessed Edward, confessor and king, and by whose merits histories say, the kingdom of England was formerly delivered from the cruelty of pagans: we with the unanimous consent of our brethren in our last convocation, and also at the repeated instances of our most devout and Christian king, (who doubts not but that his kingdom is defended by the intercession and patronage of this most glorious king and Confessor) have decreed that the feast of the translation of the said St. Edward be celebrated throughout our province of Canterbury every year for the future." This extract may be taken as a proof that the Anglican Church at this time was in a sad and degraded state†.

A.D. 1446.—The convocation of Canterbury assem-

\* JOHNSON, A.D. 1444.

† *Ibid.*, A.D. 1445.



bled to discuss the question relative to the statute of *provisors* and *præmunire*, which pressed heavily upon the clergy\*. In the year 1452 the convocation readily granted a subsidy to the king, but refused to do the same for the pope, though requested by the nuncio†. A convocation met in the province of York, A.D. 1462, and decreed that such constitutions of the province of Canterbury as were not prejudicial to those of York, should be received and adopted‡. "Thus the ancient churches observed one another's rules without pretending thereby to any superiority over each other by their so doing: to preserve the unity and promote the good order and discipline of the whole§." Another meeting of the synod took place soon after, when the feasts of St. Thomas, St. Frideswide, and St. Ethelrede were appointed to be observed||.

In 1463 Archbishop Bourchier assembled the convocation of Canterbury at London. Two constitutions were framed; the one restraining the civil officers from arresting persons in churches or churchyards, the other relating to the clerical dress; it was decreed that no clerk in holy orders should wear any gown or upper garment open in front, or with a border of fur. The servants of the bishops and dignitaries were also prohibited from wearing *bolsters* about their shoulders, or shoes turned up at the toes and very long. This decree affords an odd picture of the manners of the times¶. In 1466 Nevil, archbishop of York, called the synod

\* COLLIER, i., 669.

† *Ibid.*, 672, 673.

‡ JOHNSON, A.D. 1462; WAKE'S *State of the Church*, 375; ATTERBURY, 47.

§ WAKE'S *State of the Church*, 376.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ SPELMAN, ii., 698, 699; JOHNSON, A.D. 1463; LABB. et COSS., xiii., 1419—1421.



of his province together, when certain constitutions were sanctioned, some of which were taken from those of Canterbury\*.

It should be observed, that subsidies were granted to the crown in all these synods; and at the period now under review, little else was transacted in the convocations, which, however, were not convened so frequently as had been the case previously†. The infrequent assembling of the convocation may have arisen from the suppression of Wicliff's doctrines, or from the circumstance that subsidies were not required by the crown.

A.D. 1486.—Henry VII. commenced his reign A.D. 1485; and Archbishop Morton assembled the convocation of his province at London the following year. By this synod, prayers for the dead were established in a decree: "Because, according to the Holy Scripture, a concern for the dead is holy and wholesome, we ordain that when any bishop dies, every bishop of the province be bound to say, by himself, or by some other, the *Requies* and six masses for the soul of the deceased bishop‡." Orders were also taken respecting habits, and for the Feast of the Transfiguration§. The province of York also had their convocation, and granted a subsidy. In a convocation in 1487 or 1488, at London, certain preachers were reprimanded for speaking too freely of their bishops; and a rebuke was administered to the London clergy for frequenting public-houses, and appearing too expensive in their dress||.

\* SPELMAN, ii., 699—708; JOHNSON, A.D. 1466; LABB. et COSS., xiii., 1421—1434. † WAKE'S *State*, 378—384.

‡ SPELMAN, ii., 712; LABB. et COSS., xiii., 1466.

§ WAKE'S *State*, 384.

|| COLLIER, i., 692; WAKE'S *State*, &c.

The remaining convocations of this reign were chiefly occupied in granting subsidies. Frequently, though not necessarily, they were assembled at the same time with the Parliament. In the province of York, 1488, by a decree of convocation, the Feast of the Transfiguration was appointed to be held on the 6th of August, that of the Name of Jesus on the 7th, and the Feast of the Dedication of all Churches to be observed on one and the same day, which was fixed on the Sunday after the Feast of St. Paul\*. In 1501, the convocation of Canterbury met by command of the king, for the purpose of considering a proposal for a grant of money to the pope, who had imposed a tax of a *tenth* on the whole Christian Church, in defence of the faith against the Turks, who at that time were in the height of their success. The grant was made both in Canterbury and York†. The following singular decree was also passed in the convocation of Canterbury in the year 1501: "That for certain causes and considerations then expressed, the most excellent prince, our Lord King Henry, in every principal mass at the high altar in all churches of the kingdom, where the clerks were more than thirteen, should have a part in all their prayers and suffrages, both for his safety and prosperity in this life, and also for his welfare after he had departed this life." A similar decree was issued by the convocation of York, during the next year‡. This is one of the earliest intimations of prayers for the sovereign in the regular services of the Anglican Church. The last synod of this reign was convened at York A.D. 1508, for church purposes only§.

A.D. 1509.—Henry VIII. commenced his reign this

\* WAKE'S *State*, 385.

† *Ibid.*, 388.

‡ *Ibid.*, 388, 389.

§ *Ibid.*, 389

year. The convocation also met; and on one occasion, the House of Lords was adjourned for a few days, in consequence of the absence of the chancellor and spiritual lords in convocation. This appears to have been the first instance of such a practice, though it became common afterwards\*. During several years, the convocation, in both provinces, only assembled for the purpose of granting subsidies to the crown. In 1519, however, a legantine council was summoned by Wolsey, as *legate a latere* from the pope†. It was a council of the whole kingdom, the archbishops and bishops of both provinces being present. King Henry issued his writs in 1523 for the assembling of the convocation in both provinces. Wolsey, as Archbishop of York, summoned the synod of his province to the usual place of meeting, and then adjourned them to Westminster. The province of Canterbury met a few days after the meeting of Parliament. After mass, a monition was sent by Wolsey to Warham to appear with his clergy before the cardinal at Westminster, two days after, in a legantine or national council. It has been much debated whether the cardinal virtually dissolved the regular convocation, or only summoned them to appear before him, allowing them to adjourn afterwards to their own house. The former view is maintained by Wake, the latter by Atterbury. Collier agrees with Wake. Burnet states that a monition was sent by Wolsey to the convocation of Canterbury, so that the synods of both provinces met together; that the clergy objected and returned back to St. Paul's to their own council; and that Wolsey summoned them afresh subsequently, though no meeting took place. Previously,

\* WAKE'S *State*, 389.† *Ibid.*, 392.



however, Burnet had stated that Wolsey dissolved the regular convocation of the province. Wake thinks, that though not a formal dissolution, it was so in effect, since there was a suspension of all their proceedings. After a short space, however, the legantine synod was dismissed, and the convocations in the two provinces assembled as before, and granted the usual subsidies to the crown\*. Collier states that a large grant was proposed in the legantine council to the king, which, though opposed as exorbitant by some of the clergy, was carried by the influence of Wolsey†.

A.D. 1529.—The convocation of Canterbury met in the usual way. It does not appear that the synod of York was assembled this year at all. In 1530, however, it met under a new archbishop‡. At this time great deliberations took place in the synod of Canterbury respecting the abuses in the church, and an order was made that no member should reveal out of doors anything that took place in their meetings. When the convocation met in 1529, the question of the divorce was agitating the public mind. The reader is aware of the important results which flowed from the discussion of that question; and it is unnecessary to enter into the particulars in this work. In 1530 the king was recognised by the convocation of Canterbury as supreme head of the church, and by that of York in 1531§. Still the doctrines of Rome were retained in all their

\* WAKE'S *State*, 392, 393—6; COLLIER, ii., 17; WARNER, ii., 27, 28; STRYPE'S *Memorials*, vol. i., part 1, pp. 76—77; BURNET, i. and iii. In these works the various opinions may be seen at length.

† COLLIER, ii., 18.

‡ WAKE'S *State*, 397, 398, 473.

§ WAKE'S *State*, 490; BURNET, i., p. 1.



vigour, notwithstanding the proceedings adopted against the power of the pope, of which a singular instance was given in the present convocation. An individual had in his will committed his soul to God through Christ, to whose intercession he stated that he trusted without the help of any other saint. The subject was discussed in convocation, and the body of the person was ordered to be disinterred and committed to the flames\*.

In early times the proceedings of convocation were recorded in the registers of the Archbishops; but subsequent to the death of Archbishop Morton, A.D. 1500, the acts of convocation were preserved in distinct books provided for that especial purpose. From this time, therefore, until the year 1666, the proceedings, with the exception of some few preserved in the *Synodus Anglicana*, are lost, being destroyed in the fire of London during that year.

I shall close this portion of the history, as the next will embrace the rejection of the authority of the pope, with the following remarks of a most able writer of the time of Charles II.:—"By these arts, degrees, and accessions, the Church of Rome grew by little and little to that immenseness of opinion and power it had in our nation. But that which hath made the disputes never to be ended, the parties not to be reconciled, is an affirmation that Christ commanding Peter to feed his sheep, did with that give him so absolute a power in the Church (and derived the like to his successors, bishops of Rome) as, without his consent, no particular church or kingdom could reform itself. And though no other church in the Christian world doth agree with the Roman in this interpretation; though historians of unquestioned

\* BURNET, vol. iii., part 1.

sincerity have in their own ages delivered when and how these additions crept in, and by what oppositions gained; yet the bare affirmation that Christ intended Peter, and by consequence the pope, to be the general pastor of the world, hath so far prevailed with some as to esteem the standing for the rights of the kingdom, the laws and customs of the nation, to be a departing from the Church Catholic\*."

\* TWISDEN'S *Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism*, 4to., 1675, pp. 64, 65, 67.

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## CHAPTER V.—A. D. 1530—1534.

State of the Convocation at this Time. Steps by which the Submission of the Clergy was procured. The Act of Submission. Its Character. Constitution of the Convocation. Power of the Archbishop. Royal and Provincial Writs. Premunitory Clause. Powers of Convocation.

WE now enter upon a new period in the history of the convocation, and one of more than usual interest. The Reformation was now in its commencement, and results the most important were the consequence. In the year 1533 a most important act, called the *Act of Submission*, was passed into a law, by which the character of our Anglican convocation was completely changed. It will be my business, in this chapter, to detail the particulars respecting that act, and then state the constitution of the convocation as it now exists.

Prior to this period the archbishop of each province could assemble his provincial synod at his pleasure, though at the same time the sovereign could summon both provinces by a royal writ. When, too, the convocation met at the command of the king, the archbishop could either dissolve them when the business of the crown was finished, or continue the synod for other purposes by his own authority. The metropolitans, therefore, could assemble the clergy at pleasure. They had a right independent of the crown. Even when assembled for state purposes by the king's writ, the metropolitans could proceed to the consideration of matters ecclesiastical. It is therefore evident, that prior to

the Act of Submission, there were two kinds of ecclesiastical councils—the one a synod for the affairs of the Church, called by the archbishops; the other a state convocation, summoned by royal writ. Such was the state of things prior to 1533; but since that period the convocation cannot assemble, even for church purposes, without the royal permission, nor, when assembled, proceed to business without a special license from the sovereign. When met for the purpose of granting subsidies only, they were a state convocation; but when they were permitted to proceed to other business, they became a council, or provincial synod, in the strict and proper sense\*; so that, since the act in question, the convocation has been entirely dependent on the sovereigns, who have summoned it according to their necessities, or when the circumstances of the Church rendered it expedient.

It now remains to give some account of this celebrated act, and of the manner in which it was carried. To the members of the Anglican Church the subject is one of great interest; for though we might wish to see the Church restored to somewhat of the power which she possessed previous to the Act of Submission, yet it must not be forgotten that this act led the way to the renunciation of the pope's authority in England†.

The Act of Submission was brought about by a concurrence of circumstances. Henry was animated by a strong feeling of resentment towards the pope, in consequence of his refusal to sanction the *divorce*; so that a rupture with Rome, a step which, a few years before, the king could not have contemplated, was a

\* WAKE'S *State*, 439; HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, fol., p. 2.

† WARNER, ii., 94, 95; PARTE, vol. iii., 113, 114.



very probable event. In the reign of Edward III. several laws were enacted against the papal encroachments and usurpations; and at a later period the *Act of Præmunire*, by which all papal bulls were prohibited without permission, was passed into a law. The penalties were forfeiture of goods and perpetual banishment. Still the pope persevered in his encroachments, in which he was usually supported by the clergy: and our kings, as has been seen, were either too weak or else disinclined to offer any resistance. Henry VIII. was a man of a different stamp from many of his predecessors. Just at this time, too, the House of Commons took advantage of the king's well known feelings to complain of the burdensome character of some of the constitutions enacted in this and other convocations during the present reign. His Majesty, therefore, determined to put in force the laws of which I have spoken, which, though not executed, were still unrepealed. The clergy, necessarily, became alarmed. In 1532, an act was passed forbidding applications to the court of Rome\*. The clergy had voted for the divorce in their convocation in 1530; still they had brought themselves under the *præmunire* by acknowledging the legantine authority of Wolsey. An *indictment* was even preferred against them in the King's Bench; and though his majesty had himself admitted the legantine power, yet he was determined to proceed against the clergy, and awe them into submission. They were told, therefore, that the king would pardon them, on condition of a reasonable composition, and their submission. Certain articles were accordingly submitted to convocation for their approval. *First*, they were required to con-

\* COLLIER, ii., 47; GIBSON'S *Codex*, 96—98.

sent that no constitution or ordinance should be enacted or enforced by the clergy, but with the king's consent. *Secondly*, that the existing provincial constitutions,—some of which were deemed prejudicial to the royal prerogative,—should be revised and reviewed by certain persons appointed by his majesty; and *thirdly*, that all other constitutions, agreeable to the laws of God and the land, should continue in force. These articles contain the germ of the Act of Submission. The clergy were in great perplexity. They returned an answer which, though partly a compliance, did not satisfy his majesty. He therefore sent a fresh demand, that they should not attempt or claim or put in force any canons, nor enact any new laws, without permission from the crown. The convocation defended their just rights with considerable spirit; but, with the king and the commons against them, how could they maintain their position? "The king," says Strype, "made them buckle at last. It was another high block and difficulty for the clergy to get over, to reject the pope's power in England, and to acknowledge the king supreme head and governor in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil. But that at length they unwillingly yielded unto\*." The upper house opposed a more decided resistance to the king's demands than the lower; but continued opposition was impossible. The convocation of Canterbury submitted in 1532, and that of York some time after†.

The submission of the clergy was couched in the following terms: "We do offer and promise, *in verbo sacerdotii*, here unto your highness, submitting our-

\* STRYPE'S *Memorials*, 1, i., 204.

† WAKE'S *State*, 478; COLLIER, ii., 63.

selves most humbly to the same, that we will never from henceforth *enact, put in force, promulge, or execute* any new canons, or constitution provincial, or any new ordinance provincial, or synodal, in our convocation or synod, in time coming, (which convocation is, always hath been, and must be assembled only by your high commandment or writ,) unless your highness, by your royal assent, shall license us to assemble our convocation, and to *make, promulge, and execute* such constitutions and ordinances, as shall be made in the same, and thereto give your royal assent and authority\*."

This *form* had been dictated by his majesty; and the celebrated act of the 25th Henry VIII. recites the submission of the clergy, and then enacts that they shall not be able to proceed with any convocational business without the permission of the sovereign. But it will be desirable to subjoin that portion of the act which relates to the convocation. It is an act to bind the clergy to the performance of the promise contained in their submission. The words of submission which are cited in the act need not be repeated: I give only the enactments of the parliament on that submission.

"Be it, therefore, now enacted by authority of this present parliament, according to the said submission and petition of the said clergy, That they nor any of them from henceforth shall presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in ure any constitutions, or ordinances provincial, or synodals, or any other canons; nor shall enact, promulge, or execute any such canons, constitutions, or ordinance provincial, by whatever name or names they may be called in their convocations in time coming, which always shall be assembled by authority

\* WAKE'S *State*, 547; HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, 6.



of the king's writ, unless the same clergy may have the king's most royal assent and license to make, promulge, and execute such canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial or synodal, upon pain of every one of the said clergy, doing contrary to this act, and being thereof convict, to suffer imprisonment and make fine at the king's will\*."

It was also enacted that, on the petition of the clergy, thirty-two persons should be appointed by the king to revise the canons and ordinances, and publish them, after the royal assent had been obtained, for the government of the Church. Such a review, however, was never accomplished. By the same act, it was provided, that all canons and constitutions which were not repugnant to the laws and customs of the realm, nor injurious to the royal prerogative, should continue in force until the said review should be effected. On the authority of this clause of the Act of Submission, the canons of the Anglican Church obtain their force.

Four points, therefore, are settled by the Act of Submission :

*First*, that the convocation can only be assembled by the king's writ.

*Secondly*, that when assembled, it cannot proceed to make new canons without a royal license, which is quite a separate act from the permission to assemble.

*Thirdly*, that having agreed upon canons, in conformity with the royal license, they cannot be published or take effect until confirmed by the sovereign.

*Fourthly*, that even with the royal authority, no canon can be enacted against the laws and customs of the land, or the king's prerogative.

\* GIBSON'S *Codex*, 975, 976 ; WAKE'S *State*, 548.



It was by virtue of the supremacy, that the royal injunctions, subsequent to the Act of Submission, were issued; and it is on the same ground, that the dean and chapter of a cathedral are compelled to choose for their bishop the individual nominated by the crown.

My own view of the matter is, that the Church should have more liberty, and that she should not be restrained from enacting canons for her own regulation; but my business in this work is to detail facts. It may be remarked, too, that Christian kings always had more authority than was granted them by the Church of Rome. At this time, therefore, a power was restored to the crown, which had been wrested from it by the papal see. Some of the more moderate of the Romish bishops admitted the authority of the prince over convocations. It was admitted by Tunstal and Stokesley, in a letter to Cardinal Pole; and even Queen Mary, at the commencement of her reign, acted on the Act of Submission passed in that of her father\*. From the earliest period, the polity of the Church was modelled after that of the empire. Before the empire became Christian, all ecclesiastical affairs were settled by the bishops and clergy in their synods: and subsequent to the time of Constantine, the only change that was made was this, that their proceedings were subject to imperial approbation. Matters remained on the same footing until the rise of the papal usurpation†. That usurpation was not cast off, though some of our sovereigns resisted it, until the Reformation. In England, during the

\* WAKE's *Appeal*, p. 29; STRYPE's *Cranmer*.

† REYNOLDS's *Historical Essay upon the Government of the Church of England*, pp. 4, 5. This is a very valuable work, though not generally known. It is a book of rather unusual occurrence.

Saxon Heptarchy, the power of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as metropolitan, was recognised, as has been already noticed, in all the kingdoms.

I have traced the various steps by which the papal power was established over the Anglican church; and the reader will perceive from the foregoing history that art accomplished what could not be effected by force\*. The pope succeeded in establishing his legantine authority here by inducing the archbishops of Canterbury to act as his *legates*. For many years, the archbishops governed by virtue of their legantine, and not of their metropolitan character, and at length the usurpation was so complete that the pope claimed it, and the people viewed it as a right†. Canterbury was generally the tool of the papacy: instead of purely national and provincial synods, there was a series of legantine councils, by means of which the papal usurpation was mainly established‡. "Thus papal usurpations got footing here under a colour of right and justice, in the semblance of municipal usages and the forms of law; and the national church lost its independence not by the violence of foreign intrusions, but by the prevalence of domestic corruption, turning the edge of the constitution against the liberties of its own citizens§."

From the preceding narrative it will be seen that the convocation is assembled by the royal writ, but that

\* REYNOLDS, 30—32.

† *Ibid.*, 34.

‡ *Ibid.*, 44.

§ REYNOLDS, 34. The question of the supremacy is discussed in so many works that the difficulty consists in making a selection. However, I refer the reader to the following for most ample information:—WHITGIFT'S *Defence*, 698—702; BANCROFT'S *Survey*, c. xxii., xxiii.; JEWEL'S *Defence*, 582, 592, 597, 600—4; BILSON'S *True Difference*, 134, 153, 4, 5, 9, 207, 8, 27, 64, 66, 76; HOOKER; BARROW; BRAMHALL, 494.

they are not properly an ecclesiastical synod until the license for business is granted. It is merely the license for business that is now wanting to permit the convocation to transact any matters which the crown might recommend, or the circumstances of the Church require\*.

A.D. 1533.—It was during this year that Cranmer was raised to the see of Canterbury, just at the time when the question of the divorce was so keenly agitated. The answers from the universities were read in convocation; and the sentence of divorce was pronounced by Cranmer during this same year.

\* Having sketched the history of English councils to the period of the Act of Submission, and having detailed the particulars connected with the passing of that measure, since which time the constitution of the convocation has undergone no change, I shall now submit a view of its structure to my readers.

England is divided into the two provinces of Canterbury and York. The convocation of Canterbury consists of all the bishops of the province, who constitute the upper house; of twenty-two deans, fifty-three archdeacons, twenty-four proctors of chapters, and forty-four for the parochial clergy, and one precentor, who compose the lower house. As there is no dean of the chapter of St. David's, the precentor is summoned in his stead. Landaff is also without a dean, yet no one is summoned as a representative. Before the dissolution of the monasteries the abbots also had seats in the upper house, at which time it was more numerous than the lower. At present, however, the upper house in the province of Canterbury consists of twenty-two—the lower, of one hundred and forty-four.

\* WAKE'S *State*, p. 4.



The method of choosing the proctors for the clergy varies somewhat in different places. In the diocese of London each archdeacon chooses two, and from the whole number so chosen the bishop selects two to attend the convocation. In Sarum the three archdeacons choose six, and the six make a selection of two of their own number; and the same method is adopted in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry. In Bath and Wells all the incumbents choose their proctors jointly. In Lincoln the clergy of the six archdeaconries send commissioners to Stamford, who make the necessary choice of two persons. In Norwich the two archdeaconries of Norwich and Norfolk meet and choose one, and the archdeaconries of Suffolk and Sudbury choose the other. The same is the case in Chichester. In ancient times the clergy were represented in convocation by the archdeacons. Such is the mode of choosing proctors in the province of Canterbury. In the province of York two proctors are returned by each archdeaconry. Were it not so, the numbers would be too small for the transaction of business. In this province, therefore, the proctors for the parochial clergy are equal in number to those for the chapters\*.

The archbishop is president of the convocation. A prolocutor is chosen by the clergy, who is presented to the archbishop. On his presentation he intimates that the lower house intend to deliver their resolutions to the upper house through him, whose duty it is also to collect the votes of his brethren and to secure the attendance of the members.

As president, the archbishop summons the convocation to meet at the command of the king. Were he to

\* *HOBY*, p. iii., 12, and part iii., 283, 284.



attempt to assemble a synod of his own authority, he would be subject to a *præmunire*, and the proceedings of such synod would be void. Since the Act of Submission, however, the power to summon the convocation at the commencement of a new Parliament has been granted, though for many years no business has been transacted. It is also the duty of the archbishop to prorogue and dissolve the convocation under the direction of the crown\*.

By the term "convocation" is meant the synod of the province either of Canterbury or York, each archbishop summoning his own clergy in obedience to the royal command. The convocation is the provincial council of Canterbury and York. Each province meets in its own synod; but on important occasions, instances of which will occur in the course of our inquiry, the two provinces can act by mutual consent or correspondence; or commissioners, as has sometimes been the case, may be sent from York to sit in the convocation of Canterbury, with full power to act for the whole body†.

Formerly two writs were used in assembling the clergy. *First* the king's writ, and *secondly* the provincial. The *first* was addressed to each bishop, commanding him to appear in Parliament, containing what is called the *præmunientes* clause, from the commencing word, which was in these words.

"Præmunientes priorum et capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ Archidiaconum totumque clerum vestræ dioceseos, facientes quod iidem Prior et Archidiaconus in propriis personis suis dictumque capitulum per unum idemque

\* JOHNSON'S *Vade Mecum*, i., 38, 39.

† *Ibid*, i., 150—152.

clerus per duos procuratores idoneos plenam et sufficientem potestatem, ab ipsis capitulo et clero habentes: una vobiscum intersint, modis omnibus tunc ibidem ad tractand., ordinand., et faciend. nobiscum et cum ceteris prelatiis proceribus: et aliis incolis regni nostri qualiter hujusmodi periculis et excogitatis malitiis obviandum."

Such is the *præmunitory* clause, by which the clergy were formerly summoned together with the Parliament. On receipt of the writ, the bishop sent his mandate to the dean and chapter and also to the archdeacons, commanding the dean to appear personally, and the latter to send representatives to the Parliament. This clause, it appears, was inserted in the bishop's writ in the twenty-third year of Edward I. When assembled by this writ the clergy constituted a state convocation, not the provincial synod. When the clause was inserted, there was a danger of invasion from France: and it is clear that the clergy were not assembled by this clause as an ecclesiastical council, but to assist the king in his necessities. This is evident from the words *hujusmodi periculis et excogitatis malitiis obviandum*. The clause was, however, continued in the writ after the cause for its insertion had ceased to exist: but whenever they were summoned by virtue of this writ they constituted a part of the Parliament. The clause, with a slight variation, is still retained in the writ by which the bishops are summoned to Parliament\*.

The *second* was the *provincial writ*. This is as old as the reign of Edward II. This sovereign was prevailed upon by Archbishop Winchelsy to issue another writ to the archbishop, besides the writ to the bishops.

\* JOHNSON'S *Vade Mecum*, i., 158.

When it was first issued, it was intended to secure obedience to the previous summons, and to render the assembly of the clergy more canonical, as meeting by virtue of the archbishop's call. This is the writ by which the convocation is still assembled; for, though previous to the act of submission, the archbishop could himself summon the convocation of his province, yet since the act in question he can only call them together by command of the crown\*. The writ is ordered by the Lord Chancellor, prepared by the clerk of the crown, and then transmitted to the archbishop, who issues his *mandate* to the Bishop of London as dean of the province of Canterbury. During a vacancy of the see of London, the *mandate* is sent to the Bishop of Winchester as sub-dean†.

That the clergy were summoned to Parliament on some occasions by virtue of the *præmunitory* clause in the bishop's writ is certain: but probably the instances were rare. Such is the opinion of Hody, who observes, "This rule I shall lay down that we are not to conclude from any instance, that the clergy sat in Parliament strictly so called, unless it does appear that they are to be understood of the clergy of both provinces." Again: "Though we find the clergy of England in general mentioned, as in Parliament, yet neither from thence dare I confidently infer, that whenever such an expression occurs they sat strictly speaking in Parliament‡." Still it is clear that occasionally such was the case, and Hody himself allows it in another passage in which he observes: "From the reign of

\* HEYLIN'S *Examen*, p. 96.

† HODY, 13; JOHNSON'S *Vade Mecum*, i., 159.

‡ HODY, part ii., 424, 425.



Henry VI. the inferior clergy seldom if at all sat in Parliament\*.

But though the inferior clergy did not sit in Parliament, yet they became a component part of the provincial synod from a very early period†. Originally the bishops and clergy sat together in the same house: and when any subject arose in the debate, in which they were especially concerned, they were accustomed to retire into a separate room. The result of their debate was afterwards communicated to the bishops. Early, however, in the fifteenth century, the clergy of the province of Canterbury had a distinct place for their business; and a prolocutor was chosen to preside over their deliberations. In the province of York the bishops and clergy still sit together in the same house‡. The separation into two houses in the province of Canterbury was brought about gradually§. The place was assigned by the archbishop as president of the whole convocation, and at first was not always the same, though afterwards, for convenience, they met in one room||.

Thus with every Parliament the archbishops summon their convocations, on the authority of the provincial writ, the one to meet in London, the other at York. Members of the lower house, who are absent by leave, may vote by proxy: and bishops, who hold deaneries in *commendam*, may nominate persons to represent those dignities in the lower house.

\* Hony, part ii., 426.

† At first the bishops only were summoned: but by degrees the clergy formed a necessary part of the convocation. WAKE'S *State*, 107, 108—119.

‡ JOHNSON'S *Vade*, i., 161.

§ *Synodus Anglicana*, 79, 80.

|| *Ibid*, 83, 84.



The prolocutor of the lower house was at first merely chosen for a particular occasion, such as their retirement from the bishops for some special business: but when they became a separate house, it was necessary that the prolocutor should hold his office during the convocation. The president, with his suffragan bishops, has authority to enjoin the clergy to consider such matters as he may submit to their notice. He can also appoint committees of the lower house for special business. This right was, indeed, denied in 1689: but it is clear that it had always been exercised by the archbishop. It would be strange indeed if the archbishop and bishops could not command the advice of their presbyters: or if the latter should exercise a power independently of their superiors, to whom they owe canonical obedience. The controversy on the subject will be noticed in its proper place: but it was necessary to allude to it here in stating the powers respectively possessed by the two houses\*. The archbishop's power of proroguing and dissolving the convocation was also denied, in the controversy between the two houses in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne†.

The powers of convocation are great. They have power to correct and depose offenders; to examine and censure heretical works; and, having obtained the royal license, they can make and publish canons, reform the liturgy, and in short transact all business of an ecclesiastical character. Every day's meeting of convocation is called a session, whereas all the meetings of Parliament, from the period of their assemblage to their

\* *Synodus Anglicana*, 107, 116, 118.

† *Ibid*, 183, 225—231, 252.

prorogation, are but one session\*. By statute of Henry II., c. 1, the clergy are protected from arrest, just as the members of the Parliament during their attendance on convocation. It should be mentioned, that only rectors, vicars, and perpetual curates can vote for proctors to represent the clergy in the lower house. On their first meeting, the archbishop consults with his suffragans respecting a convenient day for proceeding to business: a *schedule* is then prepared, in which the day is fixed, which, as it continues the convocation from one day to another, is called a schedule of continuation. The *schedule* is signed by his Grace, and attested by a public notary; it is then communicated to the lower house, who are included in the *schedule*, though this point was violently contested at a later period. The convocation has not acted as a provincial synod for many years, because the royal license has not been granted. As soon as the license is issued a power is given to the convocation, which it did not previously possess, though assembled by royal writ. It is then a provincial synod, and competent to transact ecclesiastical business. "They are a convocation by his writ of summons; but a council, properly speaking, they are not, nor can they legally act as such, till they have obtained the king's license so to do†."

One privilege possessed by the lower house must not be forgotten. They can exercise a negative on the proceedings of the upper house. Thus Gibson observes, "The greatest power enjoyed by the English clergy in provincial synod, beyond the presbyters of other nations, is a negative upon the metropolitan and bishops,

\* JOHNSON'S *Vade Mecum*, i., 154, 155.

† WAKE'S *State*, 4.

none of whose resolutions, either in part or in whole, can be passed into synodical acts without the previous approbation of the inferior clergy\*." This is a very important privilege. By virtue of their negative voice the clergy would always be able to thwart the proceedings of the bishops: for were they to refuse their assent no measure could be carried.

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\* *Synodus Anglicana*, 172; JOHNSON, i., 153.

## CHAPTER VI.—A.D. 1534—1558.

Discussions in Convocation. Bidding Prayer. Primer 1535. Litany. Cromwell. Propositions submitted to Convocation. Book of Articles. Feasts abolished. Feast of Dedication of Churches. Institution of a Christian Man. Six Articles. Bible. Edward VI. Order of Matrimony. Order of Communion. Liturgy. Ordination Service. Second Liturgy. Articles, 1552. Catechism. Homilies. Mary. Convocation at London—at Oxford—at London. Pole's Legantine Synod. Mary's Death.

HAVING given an ample account of the constitution and character of an English convocation, we may now proceed with the history of its proceedings.

A.D. 1534.—It was debated this year in convocation, whether the pope had greater jurisdiction than other bishops; and it was declared, by both houses, that, by the Word of God, he could not exercise greater authority in this country than any other foreign prelate\*. Soon after, Cranmer altered the terms in which the style and title of the archbishop were usually expressed, removing the words *Apostolicæ sedis legatus*, and inserting *Metropolitanus*. At this time, therefore, it was generally declared by the clergy, that the power exercised by the pope in England was a usurpation over the Church.

At this time, also, the convocation agreed to address the king on the subject of a translation of the Bible. Tyndal's Testament had been published some few years,

\* WAKE's *State*, 479; COLLIER, ii., 94; STRYPE's *Cranmer*, i., 36.



and it was complained of by some of the clergy as inaccurate. It does not appear, however, that anything was done beyond the expression of the opinion of the convocation. In the same assembly it was determined, that the laity should not dispute on the subject of religion\*. Some time after, acting on the Acts of Parliament, by which the supremacy was asserted to be in the king, his majesty issued an order respecting preaching and bidding of prayers. The clergy were also commanded to strike the pope's name from the offices of the Church, and to declare against his *supremacy*. It was ordered, that whoever preached before the king should, at the *bidding of the beads*, pray for the Catholic Church, both *quick and dead*. "And first, as we are most bounden, for our sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, being immediately next unto God, the only and supreme head of this our Catholic Church of England, and for the most gracious lady Queen Anne his wife, and for the Lady Elizabeth, daughter and heir to them both, the princess, and no further." It was also ordered that the collects for the king and queen should be used at high mass throughout the kingdom†.

Several other matters, which tended to advance the Reformation, were executed by the king himself, at this time, without consulting the convocation. In 1535 a primer was published in English, in which the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, were comprehended. It also contained a *Litany*, which is the foundation of that in use at present, and which, on that account, must be viewed as an interesting document. Other primers, not materially different,

\* COLLIER, ii., 95.

† *Ibid.*, 106, 101.

were published subsequently. They were very important at the time, for though many errors were retained, yet there was much truth embodied in them, and it was a great point to have so much of the service in English. The Litany contains the following petition, in which the name of Anne Boleyn is mentioned: "That thou vouchsafe to preserve our most gracious sovereign lord and king, Henry the Eighth, his most gracious Queen Anne, all their posterity, aiders, helpers, and true subjects. We pray thee to hear us." It was printed A.D. 1535, by John Biddyl, June 16; and when the Bible was prohibited to all, except gentlemen, this Primer was among the few books which were excepted from the prohibition\*.

The next year was marked by the fall of the queen, Anne Boleyn, into the particulars of whose tragical history we need not enter in this work. His majesty, not content with taking her life, procured a sentence of divorce, which was confirmed by convocation†.

After the settlement of the question of the *supremacy*, a new office was created, and conferred on Cromwell, under the title of *Vice-gerent*. Burnet states, that Cromwell sat next the archbishop, as *vicar-general*, and that afterwards, being constituted *vice-gerent*, he took precedence of him. In his third volume he states that, as *vicar-general*, he sat above the archbishop‡. Burnet seems to have imagined that the powers of vicar-general

\* COLLIER, ii., 111, 112, 113; who quotes the Litany at length. See also a full account of the *Primer* of this year, in which the *Litany* was inserted in STRYPE, *Memorials*, i., 1, 335—341. It was the second edition of the *Primer*, but in the former there was no *Litany*.

† COLLIER, ii., 117—119.

‡ BURNET, vol. i., part 1; vol. iii., part 1.

and vice-gerent were different; and that Cromwell acted first in the one character and then in the other. He is, however, styled both *vicar-general* and *vice-gerent* in the Acts of the Convocation; nor is there any good reason for believing, that the powers of the two offices were different; but it is quite certain, that Cromwell took precedence of the archbishop from the first as vice-gerent\*. The sermon at the opening of the convocation was preached by Latimer. The convocation of York assembled also at the same time†. The prolocutor of the lower house submitted to the upper a book of erroneous opinions, with a remonstrance against some of the propositions contained in the volume. In this remonstrance, the supremacy is fully recognised; and the authority previously exercised by the pope is declared to have been a usurpation. The propositions condemned are *fifty-nine* in number. They show the progress of the Reformation, while the protest of the clergy may be regarded as a proof that they still clung to the errors of Rome, though they had renounced the supremacy of the pope. Among other things in these propositions, the *Sacrament of the Altar* was condemned; *extreme unction* denied to be a sacrament; *communion in both kinds* asserted to be a scriptural doctrine; *reverence to saints and to the Virgin* censured as idolatrous; and *purgatory, and several other doctrines*, were denied. The lower house complain that the circulation of such books should be permitted. Fuller calls the *fifty-nine* propositions the Protestant religion in ore; while Collier asserts that many of them were erroneous. It is, indeed, certain that many of them

\* ATTERBURY'S *Rights*, &c., 365, 366.

† STRYPE'S *Memorials*, i., 1, 378, 382.



were quite as erroneous as the views which were condemned\*.

Certain articles of religion were set forth in this same year by convocation. They were first proposed by the king, and then signed by the majority of the two houses. They were printed by Berthelet, A.D. 1536. Two lists of subscriptions are given by Collier, in one of which are the signatures of both the archbishops, so that both provinces must have acted in concert. Probably nothing more was done by the bishops and clergy than to hear them read and give their assent. There are two copies in *Formularies of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, edited by the late Bishop of Oxford, one printed from Berthelet's edition, the other from the Cotton MS. The titles vary considerably, though in both it is stated that they were sanctioned by convocation. The one is as follows:—"Articles devised by the Kinges Majestie, to stablyshe Christen Quietnes and Unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious Opinions, which Articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the hole Clergie of this Realme. Anno M.D.XXXVI.†"

The progress of the Reformation at this time may be traced by these articles. Several abuses are rectified, though some Romish errors are retained. The clergy are required to teach all things contained in the Scriptures and the three creeds, and to condemn all things contrary thereto, as they had been condemned in the *first four general councils*. Baptism is enjoined as

\* COLLIER, ii., 120, 121; FULLER, v., 208.

† WAKE'S *State*, 491, 587, 588; WAKE'S *Authority*, 113; COLLIER, ii., 122—128; FULLER, v., 213; *Formularies of Faith*.



necessary to salvation; penance is retained as a sacrament; transubstantiation is asserted; justification is defined to be remission of sins and reconciliation with God; images are to be retained, but kneeling to them and other acts of adoration are forbidden; saints are to be honoured; and the doctrine of purgatory is recognised, with certain explanations. Though, therefore, much error was retained, yet these articles were calculated to advance the Reformation, for they embody many sentiments at variance with the received doctrines of the Romish church. That Cranmer was concerned in the preparation of these articles, there is good reason to believe. Warner doubts whether the assembly in which these articles were set forth were a convocation, on the ground that the Archbishop of York was present. He, therefore, views it merely as a meeting of the clergy; but he appears to have forgotten that on some occasions the convocation of York acted with that of Canterbury, which was evidently the case on this occasion\*.

The pope was now about to hold a council at Mantua; and as it was probable that the proceedings in England would be censured, it was deemed desirable that the convocation should deliver an opinion on the subject. They stated, therefore, that neither the Bishop of Rome nor any one prince, without the consent of others, could assemble a general council; and a *remonstrance* to that effect was signed by the convocation. Certain injunctions were also set forth by the king's authority respecting holy days, and with the consent of the convocation. It was declared that the *festivals* were so numerous, that it was scarcely possible to gather in the harvest in conse-

\* WARNER, ii., 165, 166; STRYPE's *Cranmer*, i., 57, 63; CARTE, iii., 137, 138.

quence of the cessation from labour; and that so many days of relaxation produced a habit of idleness and led to intemperance. Numbers were accordingly abolished, and among others was the *feast* of the patron saint of every church, called the *Church Holy-day*; but the *feast* of the dedication of all churches was ordered to be kept only on the first Sunday in October. Feasts falling in the time of harvest were to be open to labour, except those of the Apostles, the Virgin, and those festivals on which the judges did not sit at Westminster\*.

Cromwell introduced Alesius, a Scotchman, into the convocation on one occasion, either this year or the next, who delivered an address on the sacraments, contending that the Eucharist and Baptism alone were of Divine institution. Collier and Burnet assert that the circumstance occurred in 1536, but Atterbury contends that it was in 1537†.

A.D. 1537.—This year was published "*The Institution of a Christian Man, containing the Exposition or Interpretation of the common Creed, of the Seven Sacraments, of the Ten Commandments, and of the Paternoster, Ave-Maria, Justification, and Purgatory.*" The preface, which was addressed to the king, was subscribed by the bishops, archdeacons, and others. Collier remarks that it was drawn up in convocation three years before; so that the authority of the Synod may be claimed for this work. It was called the Bishops' Book, because drawn up principally by their authority. It comprehends the greater portion of the *Book of Articles*; and notwithstanding the erroneous views which it contained, there

\* COLLIER, ii., 129; BURNET, i., part 1.

† COLLIER, ii., 124; ATTERBURY, 367; *Ant. Brit.*, 331.

was still much that was true, and its tendency was to further the cause of the Reformation<sup>\*</sup>.

Cromwell presided in the convocation this year, opening the assembly with a speech, in which he tells the members that they were summoned to determine certain controversies in religion†.

A.D. 1539.—The convocation was summoned to meet in May at St. Paul's, when it was prorogued until the ensuing November. The convocation of York was also assembled at the same time. It was in this convocation that the *Six Articles* so memorable in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII. were framed by those who were adverse to the Reformation, and who took advantage of the king's feelings at this time to procure the enactment of those severe decrees‡. They were approved by the convocation, and subsequently sanctioned by the parliament. The *first* asserted the popish view of transubstantiation; the *second* defended half-communion; the *third* enforced clerical celibacy; the *fourth* related to vows of chastity; the *fifth* sanctioned private masses; and the *sixth* insisted on auricular confession. They were opposed in parliament, with great force, by Cranmer; but the opposition was vain, and they became a law§.

Not long after the Act of the Six Articles became the law of the land, the king married Anne of Cleves, whom he so disliked that he resolved to procure a divorce. The question was accordingly brought into

\* COLLIER, ii., 139—143; STRYPE's *Cranmer*, i., 110; WILKINS' *Concilia*, iii., 831; WAKE's *State*, 590.

† ATTERBURY, 307; WAKE's *State*, 584.

‡ WILKINS' *Concilia*, iii., 845; WAKE's *State*, 590.

§ COLLIER, ii., 168; STRYPE's *Memorials*, i., 1, 542; WAKE's *State*, 590.



convocation, where the pre-contract between Anne and the son of the Duke of Lorrain was alleged by the Bishop of Winchester. A committee was appointed to examine the subject: and, after hearing evidence, the convocation decided that the marriage should be set aside. It was afterwards annulled also by act of parliament\*. This was a national council of the bishops and clergy of both provinces, both being united by command of his majesty†.

A.D. 1541.—It was proposed this year, in convocation, that the translations of the Bible should be reviewed. Gardiner read a list of Latin words, which he contended should not be translated, or that they should be altered as slightly as possible. His object was to keep the people in ignorance, and to foster the notions which they had imbibed before the Bible was translated. That such was his aim is clear, from the following selection from the list of words proposed to be retained: "*Pœnitentia, Pontifex, Simulacrum, Mysterium, Sacrificium.*" Cranmer, however, informed the house, that the Book was to be reviewed by the universities, upon which some of the prelates expressed their dissatisfaction, alleging that the learning of the nation was rather to be found in the convocation. Both Strype and Collier concur in the admission, that the proposal of Gardiner was intended to check the reformation‡.

In the same convocation, though in the succeeding year, A.D. 1542, Cranmer moved, that candles and

\* COLLIER, ii., 179.

† STRYPE'S *Memorials*, i., 1, 556—560. ATTERBURY, 370. WAKE'S *State*, 492. BURNET, vol. iii., part I.

‡ COLLIER, ii., 185. STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 134, 135. WAKE'S *State*, 426.



ornaments should be removed from images, and that missals and liturgical works might be reformed. The examination of the books was entrusted to a committee of bishops, who were to join with them certain members of the lower house. The clergy, however, declined to act, so that the business was left to the bishops. Whether the motion was carried into effect is uncertain\*. The archbishop also submitted a proposal to the synod respecting the arrangement of homilies; but it is not possible to ascertain what progress was actually made in the work†.

Notwithstanding the check which the *Six Articles* imposed upon the reformation, some advances continued to be made. The upper house of convocation, for instance, ordered that the curate of the parish, should, on every Sunday and holy day in the year, read to the people, after the *Te Deum* and *Magnificat*, one chapter of the New Testament, in English, without exposition: and after the New Testament was finished, it was ordered that the Old Testament should be taken up in the same order. This was an important step. The Bible had been set up in churches some time: but now it was regularly read to the people.†

A.D. 1543.—This year a revision of the *Institution*, or Bishops' Book, was set forth by royal authority, under the title: *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty of England*. There are certain additions, yet still it may be regarded as the *Institution* in a new form.

\* COLLIER, ii., 185.

† STRYPE'S *Memorials*, i., 1, 573. The Homilies were, however, composed by some of the bishops, and submitted to the house.—WAKE'S *State*, 591.

‡ COLLIER, ii. 186.

The additions, however, were a retrograde movement: and instead of advancing in the work of reformation, there was in the new work a greater approximation to the errors of popery. This movement was probably brought about by the influence of Gardiner. Collier calls it a *review and alteration* of the *Institution*, and remarks that it was *supplemental in some articles*. The preface was composed by his majesty, and the book was called the King's Book. "Where the *Erudition*," says Collier, "differs from the *Institution*, it seems mostly to lose ground, to go off from the primitive plan, and reform backwards." The authority of the two books too was different: the *Institution* having been sanctioned by convocation, while the *Erudition* had only the authority of his majesty\*. It is observable that both these works assert bishops and priests to be the same order, the former being superior only in degree.

King Henry's last parliament was convened A.D. 1544. With the parliament the convocation was assembled in both provinces. Several meetings and prorogations are recorded: but it does not appear that much business, besides granting subsidies, was transacted. The death of his Majesty dissolved the convocation, A.D. 1547.

A.D. 1547.—Edward VI. succeeded to the throne on his father's death. "No sooner," says Fuller, "was he come to the crown, but a peaceable dew refreshed God's inheritance in England, formerly parched with persecution: and this good angel struck off the fetters from many Peters in prison, *preserving those who were appointed to die.*†"

\* COLLIER, ii., 188—191.

† FULLER, vii. 371.

In the first year of his reign the convocation of both provinces assembled as usual with the parliament. The Dean of Lincoln was chosen prolocutor of the lower house, in the province of Canterbury, and presented to the archbishop and bishops\*. In his opening address, Cranmer recommended that the reformation should be carried forward, and that the clergy should keep close by the Holy Scriptures†. Petitions were presented by the prolocutor to the archbishop, of which one was that provision should be made for the examination of the ecclesiastical law, according to the act of the late king to that effect. Another was somewhat singular, for it was a prayer that the lower clergy might be united to the house of commons. There was also another, praying that the works of the bishops and others, who, by order of convocation, had laboured in examining, reforming, and publishing, the Divine Service, might be produced and laid before the lower house. It is evident that the arrangement of the Liturgy had already been commenced by the bishops. In their *fifth* session, an ordinance was read in the lower house, which had been communicated by the archbishop, relative to the communion in both kinds. The prolocutor and other members signed the document: and in the next session the proposal was adopted‡. In the *eighth* session the question of the celibacy of the clergy was introduced, and proceeding to a vote, fifty-three voted for the repeal of all the

\* WAKE'S *State*, 494. WILKINS' *Concilia*, iv., 15, 26. The convocation of York also met.—*Ibid.*, 26.

† COLLIER, ii., 233. WAKE'S *State*, 592-3. BURNET, vol. ii., part 1.

‡ STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 221. COLLIER, ii., 233, 235.



prohibitory enactments, while twenty-two were opposed to any change whatever\*.

No mention is made in the records of the times of any service for the solemnization of marriage previous to the form in the first liturgy of King Edward, A.D. 1549; nor is it anywhere stated, as far as I am aware, what was the method adopted during the interval between Edward's accession and the publication of the Book of Common Prayer—whether the old service was in every particular used, or whether some deviations were permitted. I am unable to solve the question; but I have a small volume of the early part of the reign of Edward VI., which appears to me to reflect some light upon the subject. It has the following title:—*The Order of Matrimony, Hebre xiii. Let Wedlocke be had in pryce in all poyntes, and let the chamber be undefyled. Imprinted at London by Anthony Scoloker, dwelling in the Saroy Rentes, without Temble-barre. Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.* It is without date; but my copy, which was formerly in the possession of Herbert, and which was used by him in editing the work of Ames, having his usual mark on the foot of the title, has a written date, 1548. It must have been published early in that year, for it recognizes marriage as a sacrament; so that it was put forth at the very dawn of the Reformation under King Edward. The internal evidence shows that it was not published prior to the Reformation, since the deliverance from popery is expressed in terms which cannot be mistaken. On every account the volume is interesting and curious. Some parts of it are very similar to portions of our present

\* STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 220, 23. STILLINGFLEET'S *Irenicum*, 387, 389.



marriage service. If I may be allowed to hazard an opinion, it is this—that this *order* was used for a short time previous to the publication of the first liturgy of King Edward. No mention is, however, made of it; but the fact that such a volume was published at such a time and on such a subject may be regarded as evidence, that it was used in the solemnization of marriage previous to the year 1549. It may have been used as an address to the parties, in addition to the old service, occupying the place of the homily at the end of our present service. But that it was used in some way or other may, in my opinion, be taken for granted. This opinion derives some support from the Rubric before the exhortation as it stood in the Book of Common Prayer previous to the last review, in which it is enjoined that “*after the Gospel shall be said a sermon, wherein ordinarily the office of a man and wife shall be declared, according to Holy Scripture.*”

A few extracts from the volume will exhibit its character. It commences in the following words. I retain the orthography:—

“Whan holy ordinaunces and thynges of pryce are to be ministred in the congregation, it is convenient (welbeloved audience) to geve instruction or information thereof; as is this holy order and state of matrimony: for the which cause we are here assembled and gathered together now at this present time: and namely, for this entent and purpose to couple and joyne these ii parsons together by the vertue and strength of holy matrimony which is geven to man and woman here in thys presente lyfe, that they should observe, kepe, and use it after the ordinaunce and institucion of God. And inasmuch as both you (welbeloved brother and syster) are come

hither with one harte and one minde to receyue this holy order and honourable state of matrimony and godlye living, it shall be necessary for you to receyve it after God's ordynaunce, and according to his institution."

That the volume was published before the views of the reformers were established, and consequently just after Edward's accession, is evident from two passages in which marriage is spoken of as a sacrament:—

"For it is lyke in matrimony as it is in other holy sacraments." And again:—"First, I shall shewe you by whome this sacramente of matrimony was instituted and ordenid."

These passages are conclusive respecting the views entertained on this point at the time. The volume must have been written before the reformers had agreed upon their course respecting the Romish errors: while, at the same time, the following extract shows that it was written after the reformation had commenced:—

"And as we have esteemed and regarded now of a long season man's inventions and tradicions farre above God's holy lawes, even so let us take men's dreames as they be, and let God's most holy ordinaunces stande in their place as they ought to do."

One remark may be made on the orthography. The extracts are correctly given; and it will be seen that the orthography is much nearer our present standard than that of a much more recent period; indeed, the difference is only in a very few words; while in many, which in later times varied very materially from the present practice, there is no variation at all.

The convocation having declared in favour of the communion in both kinds, an act of Parliament was soon

passed authorizing the changing of the *mass* into a communion, and ordering that the cup should be administered to the laity. An *Order of Communion* was accordingly drawn up by a committee of bishops and divines\*. Previous, however, to the publication of the book a series of questions was proposed relative to this sacrament. Both questions and answers may be seen in Burnet and Collier. The book was published A.D. 1548. This was the first step taken in this reign (unless we take into the account the *order* of matrimony) in the reformation of the public services†.

A committee of bishops and divines, the same, or nearly so, as the preceding, was ordered by the king to revise the entire services of the Church. They assembled, in obedience to the royal order, and the result of their labours was the first service book of King Edward, which, though not prepared in, was approved by, the convocation, and was afterwards set forth by authority of Parliament, A.D. 1549‡. It has, indeed, been disputed whether the Liturgy was actually sanctioned by convocation; but the testimony on the point is so decisive that all doubts are removed. It was confirmed by both houses, so that it had the most complete ecclesiastical sanction. At the same time, it may be observed, that whatever was transacted by virtue of the royal supremacy had the virtual sanction of the convocation, inasmuch as the supremacy was settled upon the crown by the convocation itself§. It would be foreign to the

\* COLLIER, ii., 243; SPARROW'S *Rationale*, by DOWNES.

† The First Communion Book may be seen in SPARROW'S *Collections*—in HICKS'S *Christian Priesthood*—and in LE STRANGE'S *Alliance of Divine Offices*.

‡ STRYFE'S *Memorials*, ii., 1, 127.

§ HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, 40, 41.



object of this work, which is intended to detail the proceedings of convocation, to enter into any examination of this first liturgy of the Anglican Church. The business was primarily managed in committees; and the approval of convocation and the sanction of Parliament came afterwards. The Romish assertion, therefore, that these things were settled only by Parliament is altogether groundless\*.

A.D. 1550.—In the convocation this year the question of a review of the Liturgy was entertained: and the words at the delivery of the elements to the communicants were especially considered. This was preparatory to a review of the book†. Subsequent to the publication of the book of 1549, the same committee of bishops and divines drew up a *Form for the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, which bears the date of March, 1549. At this time the year was reckoned from the 25th of March: so that books published before that date, or between the *first* of January and the 25th of March, were sometimes dated in the year that was closing, and which, according to our computation, had closed, or in the year that was commencing. This service, as it was first published, is preserved in the Appendix to Mason. An Act of Parliament had previously passed to authorize the preparation of the

\* STRYPE'S *Memorials*, ii., 1, 134; FULLER, b. vii., 386; SPARROW, by DOWNES. The names of the original compilers are as follows: Cranmer, Ridley, Goodrich, Holbech, Skip, Thirlby, Day, Taylor, Cox, May, Robertson, Heynes, Redmayne. The same individuals were also engaged in the revision of the book. See *The Discourse concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission*, 4to., 1639, pp. 24, 25.

† COLLIER, ii., 310; HEYLIN'S *Hist. Ref.* 107; CARDWELL'S *Two Liturgies compared*, pref. xviii.; WILKINS, iv., 60—63.



service, and giving it the force of law when completed\*. In the year 1552, the Liturgy was published in a revised form: and the *Ordination Service* was added to the book. Some few changes were made on its being incorporated with the Book of Common Prayer, but they were not material†. The differences between the *first* and second Liturgies of Edward VI. need not be specified in this work: but the reader who wishes to satisfy himself on the subject may refer to the authorities quoted below‡.

A.D. 1552.—This year is memorable in our ecclesiastical history for the publication of the *Articles of Religion*. They were *forty-two* in number, and were drawn up by Cranmer and Ridley, with the assistance of some other divines. The archbishop admitted, in the time of Queen Mary, that the Catechism, the Articles, and the Book against Gardiner, were his own§. The Articles were submitted to the convocation, by whom they were ratified and confirmed. This great work was commenced by the archbishop, in 1551; and in 1552, the Articles were published by due authority. It has been supposed by some persons, that the Articles of 1552 were not sanctioned by convocation: but the evidence on the subject is conclusive||. They were prepared by the archbishop: and though not debated in

\* COLLIER, ii., 288, who gives the Act. See also BURNET, vol. ii., part i.

† BURNET, *Art.* xxxvi; COLLIER, ii., 291; RIDLEY'S *Life*, 340. The most important alteration was the omission of the words at the end of the oath of supremacy, after so help me God, "*All Saints and Holy Evangelists*."

‡ LE STRANGE'S *Alliance of Divine Offices*: SPARROW, by DOWNES; COLLIER, ii., 310; STRYPE'S *Memorials*, ii., 2, 20, 21; CARDWELL'S *Two Liturgies compared*.

§ STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 390.

|| WILKINS, iv. 73.

convocation, they were sanctioned and subscribed by both houses. It is not probable that the title would have put forth a falsehood, which would have been the case had they not been ratified by convocation. "Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned and godly men in the last convocation at London, in the year of our Lord 1552, to root out the discord of opinions, and establish the agreement of true religion. Published by the king's majestie's authority, 1553." Such is the title, from which it is evident that they were confirmed in the convocation, and then published by command of his Majesty\*.

Heylin, after quoting the title, says, "The title none durst have adventured to set before them, had they not really been the products of that convocation†." He remarks again: "The truth is that the records of convocation, during this reign, are very imperfect: most of them lost: and yet one might conclude as strongly that my mother died childless, because my christening is not to be found in the parish register, as that the convocation of this year was barren, because the Acts and Articles of it are not entered in the journal book‡."

The catechism usually known in history as King Edward's was also set forth by this convocation. It was intended for the instruction of children in the fundamentals of religion. Its author was Poynt, bishop of Winchester, but it was sanctioned by convocation, though the question has been disputed§. The

\* STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 390; *Memorials*, ii., 2, 24; BURNET'S *Records*; HEYLIN'S *Reformation*, 121, and Appendix; LAWRENCE'S *Bampton Lectures*; WAKE'S *State*, &c. 597—600; FULLER, vii., 421; CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, i., 2, 1—7.

† *Examen*, 122.

‡ *Ibid.*, 123.

§ STRYPE'S *Memorials*, ii., 2, 24.

subject was mentioned in Queen Mary's reign, by Weston, the prolocutor of the lower house at Oxford, who asserted, that it had never been authorized by the synod. On that occasion, too, he introduced a Bill declaring it *pestiferous and full of heresies*, and that it was foisted fraudulently upon the late synod, and that it was disowned by the present. This Bill was subscribed by all the members of the lower house, with the exception of six. Philpot, however, archdeacon of Winchester, rose and stated, that the synod, under King Edward, had granted certain powers to the persons appointed by the king, and that consequently their acts were to be regarded as those of the convocation; so that the catechism had the authority which was claimed for it. It appears that a license for the printing of the work was granted in September, 1552, though it was not published until the next year. Strype conjectures, that it was delayed for the purpose of obtaining the sanction of the convocation\*.

The convocation of York did little, as far as we can ascertain, except grant subsidies to the crown†.

As the doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was now renounced by the Anglican Church, it may be desirable to offer a few remarks on the state of the question previous to the Reformation. We have already seen its gradual introduction into England: but the public in our day know but little of the gross superstition to which this doctrine gave rise. The words of consecration were spoken in a tone not to be heard by the people: and to satisfy the public, the most absurd stories

\* STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 423; *Memorials*, ii., 2, 24, 25; HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, 13.

† WAKE'S *State*, 495.



were invented. One reason assigned for repeating the words of consecration so as not to be heard was this, that certain shepherds having heard the words repeated by a priest, repeated the words over their own food, when it immediately turned into flesh. At first the custom was to consecrate a whole loaf, and on its distribution the people were taught to believe, that each received a portion of the Saviour's actual body; but afterwards the schoolmen and others taught, that the entire body of Christ was in every particle of the consecrated bread, so that when any portion was divided a new body was produced in all the separate parts. To get rid of the difficulty attending the question the Romanists, at length, introduced wafers, in order that no particle might be separated.

The *First* Book of Homilies was prepared and published A.D., 1547. It is frequently objected that the Homilies were not set forth by authority of the church, inasmuch as they were not sanctioned formally by the convocation. The objection is, however, futile: for in the *Forty-two* Articles of King Edward, the Book of Homilies is mentioned and confirmed. The Article is thus headed: "*Of Homilies*," and it is as follows: "The Homilies of late given and set out by the king's authority, be godly and wholesome, containing doctrine to be received of all men, and therefore are to be read to the people, diligently, distinctly, and plainly." As these Articles were set forth by authority of convocation, it must be admitted, that the Homilies, which were then published, were sanctioned by the authority of the church. The question will come under our notice again in the reign of Elizabeth.

A.D. 1553.—Mary succeeded to the throne on her



brother's death. The convocation was assembled in her first year; "which," says Strype, "was so packed or so compliant, that six only of the whole house" (meaning the lower house) "owned King Edward's Reformation\*." Harpsfield, chaplain to the Bishop of London, preached the usual sermon, taking the text in the xxth of Acts: "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers." The proceedings of the Reformers in the preceding reign were condemned by the preacher in no gentle strain. After sermon, the usual instructions were given for the choice of a prolocutor of the lower house, and Weston, dean of Westminster, was chosen to the office. By command of the queen, a public disputation was held in St. Paul's Church, on the *Real Presence*, when Philpot, Haddon, Aylmer, and others, defended the views of the Reformers. The decision of the convocation was, of course, in favour of Romanism. The upper house decided, that the body and blood of Christ were actually present in the sacrament under the species of bread and wine, and that a change, expressed by the word *transubstantiation*, actually took place in the consecration of the elements†.

From the decisions of the convocation on this occasion, three questions were framed, with a view to another discussion between certain Romanists and Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer‡. The convocation had been summoned, in order that the question relative to the state of the Church might be discussed before any

\* STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 461; WILKINS, iv., 88.

† STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 461; STRYPE'S *Memorials*, iii., 1, 73; FULLER, viii., 11.

‡ STRYPE'S *Memorials*, iii., 1, 74, 75.

measure should be submitted to parliament; and it is observable, that in the writ the queen retained the title of *Supreme Head* of the Church of England. Cranmer was in prison at the time, yet the writ was issued as usual to him; but Bonner, as Bishop of London, acted as president\*. Philpot in vain requested, that some of the divines, who had been concerned in drawing up the Articles of Religion, might be associated with them in the discussion. The discussion on the sacrament, after six days' debate, ended amidst great confusion in the lower house, Weston saying, "It is not the queen's pleasure that we should spend any longer time in these debates, and ye are well enough already, for ye have the word, and we have the sword†."

After it had been decided that a discussion should take place on certain articles framed by the convocation, it was settled that Oxford should be the arena in which the contest should be managed. Weston, the prolocutor, and certain members of the lower house, were deputed as a committee to represent the clergy in Oxford. The University of Cambridge sent seven of their body as their representatives; and to the whole were added, by commission, the vice-chancellor and other members of the University of Oxford. Cranmer was summoned to appear before this mixed assembly in the choir of St. Mary's Church; and after his removal, Ridley and Latimer were successively introduced. The particulars of the discussions may be seen in Foxe. It seems that the prolocutor and his companions arrived in Oxford on the 13th of April, 1554, and returned on

\* WAKE'S *State*, 495; HEYLIN'S *Hist.*, part ii., p. 29.

† HEYLIN'S *Refor.*, part ii., 30; COLLIER, ii., 354—58; FOXE; BURNET.

the 23rd of the same month, after Cranmer and his brethren had been condemned as heretics. This was the second convocation of Mary's reign, summoned with her second parliament. The queen's writ directed them to meet on the 3rd of April at Oxford, from which city it was adjourned to London. It was, however, adjourned during the disputes in Oxford. In short, the only business transacted related to the management of the discussions; and on his return from Oxford, Weston submitted to the lower house a report of the proceedings with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer\*.

A.D. 1554.—This same year, Queen Mary convened her third parliament. The convocation also was summoned by a writ to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, and met November 13th under the presidency of Bonner. It continued to sit until the 26th of February. During its sessions, Cardinal Pole, whose attainder had been removed by Act of Parliament, came over to England as *legate a latere* from the pope. The ceremony of reconciliation to the see of Rome was performed with great pomp. The convocation petitioned the king and queen to interpose in their behalf; and the cardinal, having sent for both houses to meet him at Lambeth, absolved them from all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, on the 6th day of December, 1554. The absolution was received upon their knees; and a commission was granted to the bishops to reconcile their respective dioceses†.

\* STYRPE'S *Cranmer*, 480—486; COLLIER, ii., 367; WAKE'S *State*, 496, 601; BURNET, iii., part i. This second convocation was summoned by a writ directed to Bonner: "*Sede archiepiscopali vacante per condemnationem Thomæ Cranmeri*;" WILKINS, iv., 94, 98.

† WAKE'S *State*, 496; STYRPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 495; *Memorials*, iii., 1, 253—5.



A petition was presented to the upper house from the lower, digested into twenty-eight articles, relating to matters which they wished to be reformed. They requested that heretical books should be destroyed, mentioning especially *Cranmer's Book on the Sacrament*, and the *Schismatical Communion Book*, with all *suspicious translations of the Bible*, and the *English Ordinal*. They also prayed for the revival of the statute concerning heresy. When it was observed, that some had already been committed to the flames, even though there were no law to condemn them, Weston replied: "It forceth not for a law: we have a commission to proceed with them; and when they be despatched, let their friends sue the law\*." It is surprising, that any copies of the Book of Common Prayer should have escaped destruction; for there can be no doubt that the authorities were very active in removing them from all churches, and in destroying them, whenever they could meet with them, either in public or private.

A.D. 1555.—The next convocation of this reign, being the fourth, assembled on the 22nd of October†. Dr. Christopherson was appointed prolocutor of the lower house. In the upper house the Bishop of Ely proposed that certain individuals should be chosen from the house to review the ancient canons, for the purpose of accommodating them to the present state of the Church. The result, however, is not known‡. It does not appear that much business was transacted, in consequence of Pole's legantine synod of the whole kingdom,

\* STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, i., 500, 501; BURNET, ii., 1, 378; also *Records*, ii., 2, 316—22.

† WAKE'S *State*, 496; WILKINS, iv., 120.

‡ HEYLIN'S *Hist. Ref.*, part 2, 154.



which met about the same time. According to Burnet, the last session was on the 15th of November, and a memorandum was inserted as follows: "After this convocation was begun, there was a national synod, the clergy of York being joined with them\*." Some confusion has arisen, in consequence of not distinguishing between the regular convocation of the province of Canterbury, and Pole's legantine council. After the 15th of November, the business appears to have been managed in the latter assembly. Both councils were manifestly sitting at the same time; that is, on certain days when the legantine council did not sit, the bishops and clergy met in convocation. Such at least was the case for a time; but it is by no means easy to distinguish the proceedings of the two assemblies.

Pole deemed it necessary to procure a warrant from the queen, before he summoned his synod. It was dated November 2nd, 1555. It would seem, that the clergy were fearful of a *præmunire*, or the cardinal would not have solicited permission to hold a council, which the papal legates had always summoned by their own authority. A book was submitted to the council with this title: "The Reformation of England by the Decrees of Cardinal Pole." The decrees, twelve in number, were sanctioned by the synod. By the *first* it is enjoined, that there should be a constant remembrance, in every mass, of the reconciliation of the country to the see of Rome, and that a *procession* should take place on its anniversary. Several of them contained useful and important matters; and it is evident that Pole had profited by what had occurred

\* BURNET, iii., 1, 302.

in England during the progress of the reformation. It is also stated, that "the *Institution of a Christian Man*" was examined, and that a Translation of the New Testament was ordered. This council was continued, by several prorogations, until 1557. It was the last legantine synod held in England\*.

Mary summoned a new parliament in the last year of her reign, with which the convocation also, as was usual, assembled: but it does not appear that any business was transacted, beyond the grant of a subsidy to the crown. The convocation was dissolved by the death of the queen, an event that took place on the 17th day of November, A.D. 1558†. In the province of York, little if any business was transacted during this reign.

\* WAKE's *State*, 497—499. STRYPE's *Cranmer*, i., 528. BURNET, ii., 415—417; iii. 1, 302, 310. LABB. et COSS., xiv., 1733. This is the only Anglican council inserted in LABB. et COSS., after the reformation.—WILKINS, iv., 155—168.

† WAKE's *State*, 499.

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## CHAPTER VII. A.D. 1558—1602.

Elizabeth. Cautious Proceedings. Litany. Convocation. Disputation. Supremacy. Heresy. Common Prayer. Common Prayer in Scotland. Eleven Articles. Thirty-Nine Articles. Proceedings in Convocation. Nowell's Catechism. Jewell's Apology. Homilies. Lessons. Admonition respecting Lessons in Second Book of Homilies. Convocation of 1571. Articles. Subscription. Apostolical Succession. The Disputed Clause in the XXth Article. Canons of this Year. Foxe's Martyrology. Reformatio Legum. Canons, 1575. Lay-Baptism. Articuli pro Clero, 1584. Orders for the Clergy. Proceedings in Convocation. Canons in 1597. Death of the Queen.

THE *seventeenth* day of November was long observed by the English Church and nation, as a day of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne of these realms. Nor can we feel surprise, that our ancestors should have regarded it, when we remember the evils from which they were rescued by Elizabeth's accession. It was an event which procured the deliverance of many sufferers both from death and from prison. "The 17th of November," says Stow, "1558, came certain news into the parliament house of the death of Queene Marie, whereat many rejoiced, and many lamented."

Much caution was observed by the government in commencing the work of reformation. No sudden step was taken, for the queen intended to proceed deliberately, yet firmly, in removing that system which had been re-established by Queen Mary. Members of

the Anglican Church can never be too thankful, that the reformation was carried on with so much prudence. Had less discrimination and caution marked the steps of the government at this important period, the Anglican reformation might have been conducted on principles similar to those which were adopted by the continental reformers, and the consequence might have been the renunciation of the apostolic discipline and government.

On the *first* day of January, the *Litany* was read in English, with the *Epistle* and *Gospel*. This was the first direct step towards the restoration of the primitive mode of worship. During the same month the parliament met: and all the laws enacted against Rome in the reign of Henry VIII., and which had been repealed in the late times, were renewed and brought into operation. The supremacy was, therefore, restored to the crown; but the title *supreme governor* was substituted for that of *supreme head*.

The convocation assembled with the parliament. A reason is quaintly assigned by Fuller why much business was not transacted at this synod: "For as it is observed in nature, when one twin is of unusual strength and bigness, the other, his partner born with him, is weak and dwindled away; so, here, this parliament being very active in matters of religion, the convocation (younger brother thereunto) was little employed, and less regarded\*." The archbishopric of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole, Bonner, as Bishop of London, presided in the convocation. He addressed the assembly on the occasion; and Harpsfield, who was chosen prolocutor of

\* FULLER, ix., 54.



the lower house, presented certain articles of religion, which he requested the bishops to submit to parliament for its confirmation. They were quite in agreement with the doctrines of Rome. It was declared, that after the words of consecration the natural body of Christ is really present in the sacrament: that the substance of bread and wine does not remain: that the true body of Christ is offered as a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead: that the authority to govern the Church was given to Peter, and to his successors the popes, as vicars apostolic: and that the authority to define points of faith is vested in the clergy. These articles were subsequently presented by Bonner to the lord-keeper; but no further step was taken in the business\*.

When the convocation assembled, the queen required them not to proceed to make canons, under the penalties of a *præmunire*. But the Act of Submission had been repealed by Queen Mary, and was not yet revived; consequently, the convocation might have proceeded to make canons without the queen's license, or without incurring the penalties of a *præmunire*. However, through fear of the queen's resentment, or despair of being able to effect their wishes, against the views of the country and the government, they remained perfectly quiet†.

The declaration of the lower house, so decidedly in favour of the Romish doctrines, probably hastened on the disputation at Westminster. It commenced on the

\* FULLER, ix., 55, 56. COLLIER, ii., 413, 414. STRYPE'S *Annals*, i. 1, 80—82. BURNET, iii. 1, 329, 330. WILKINS, iv., 179.

† WARNER, ii., 414.

31st of March, by order of the queen. Certain divines were selected on both sides; and the following points were proposed for discussion:—*first*, whether it is against the word of God and the custom of the ancient church to celebrate the services in an unknown tongue: *secondly*, whether every church has authority to decree rites and ceremonies, provided all things be done to edification; *thirdly*, whether it can be proved by the word of God, that there is offered in the mass a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

In order to preserve quiet and to prevent confusion, the lord keeper acted as chairman on this occasion. At the first meeting the Romanists had no written paper, though it had been agreed that the debate should be managed in writing. They stated that they had been mistaken, but that they were ready to argue the first point *viva voce*. Cole, therefore, who acted on behalf of the Romanists, argued that the practice of celebrating Divine service in an unknown tongue was not opposed to any express declaration of Holy Scripture, and that, were such even the case, the constant custom of the Church was not to be condemned. He illustrated his position by the change in the observance of the Sabbath, which was made by the Church, whose authority in such matters was sufficient. His conclusion was, that though the reformers might have the Scriptures on their side, yet that the Church, being always under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, was competent to settle all such questions. He also insisted much on the preservation of the unity of the Church in public worship. On the other part, it was answered, that they received all the articles of the three creeds; that they were ready to refer the whole controversy to the Scriptures and to

the Church; that, by the Word of God they intended only the written word or the canonical Scriptures; and that by the custom of the Church they understood the general practice during the *first five* centuries. On the *second* day the Romanists were not prepared to abide by the agreement; so that the conference was abruptly terminated. Full particulars may be found in the works referred to in the margin\*.

The supremacy, as has been mentioned, was restored to the crown by act of parliament. The act was entitled, *An Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual*†. An oath also was framed, called the *Oath of Supremacy*, in which the doctrine propounded in the act is subscribed. The thirty-seventh article also relates to the same subject; and every clergyman subscribes the Thirty-nine Articles, together with the three articles in the Thirty-sixth Canon, in which the whole question is involved. In the Act of Supremacy was a clause empowering the queen to erect a court of high commission, for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was also decided that no one should adjudge anything to be heresy, except such matters or views as were so determined by Holy Scripture, or by the first four general councils, or by any other general council in which a point was declared to be heresy in the express words of Scripture, or such doctrines as should hereafter be so determined by authority of parliament with the assent of the clergy in their convocation. The *first four* councils were recog-

\* COLLIER, ii., 414—420; FOXE, ii., 2119, ed. 1563; FULLER, ix., 56, 57; STRYPE'S *Annals*, i., 1, 198—237; BURNET, ii., 1, 493—496; CARDWELL'S *Conferences*, 25, 55—117.

† WAKE'S *Appeal*, 6.



nised as a standard of appeal in the reign of Henry VIII., by act of parliament, and also in the *Institution of a Christian Man*. Casaubon, writing to Perron on the part of James I., says, "The king and the Church of England do admit the *first four* œcumenical councils." In this act there was a limitation to Scripture and the first four councils, because in the times of popery everything was pronounced to be heresy to which the term was applied by the Church of Rome, such as speaking against *pilgrimages, images, or auricular confession*. The bill was opposed by the Romanists; but still it was carried into a law\*. A bill was also introduced into the House of Commons for giving authority to *thirty-two* persons to revise the ecclesiastical laws, and to prepare a digest of them; but it was not carried in the Lords, and the canons of the church were left in the state in which they were placed by the act of the 25th of Henry VIII.†.

In the years 1533 and 1542 the convocation petitioned the king to appoint persons to review the canons; and on their petitions two acts of parliament were passed in 1533 and 1543 to enable his Majesty to grant a commission for that purpose‡. Now, however, an attempt was made, not to enable the queen to do as her father had done, but to give the power directly to thirty-two persons. The attempt failed; and nothing was done towards a review of the canons until the next reign, when the subject will necessarily fall under our notice.

In December a committee of divines was appointed to

\* COLLIER, ii., 420—422; GIBSON, 425; GREY'S *Ecclesiastical Law*, 121, 122.

† COLLIER, ii., 424.

‡ WILKINS'S *Concilia*, iii., 770, 863.



review the Book of Common Prayer\*. It would have been chimerical to have expected anything from that convocation, which assembled with Elizabeth's first parliament; and, therefore, the work was entrusted to a committee, consisting of ten persons, of whom four had been in exile during the reign of Mary. They finished their review in April, but some changes were subsequently made in certain portions of the book. Kneeling at the sacrament was left indifferent by the committee; but afterwards it was enjoined as in King Edward's book. A bill for uniformity was introduced into the Commons, with the Book of Common Prayer annexed, and was passed almost immediately. There were no conferences between the two houses; no committees to examine the book; but the bill was carried on the credit of the individuals by whom the Liturgy had been revised. In the Lords several speeches were made against it, but even there the bill was speedily carried†. The book was first used on the 24th of June, 1559.

There are some interesting facts connected with the use and reception of the liturgy of the Anglican Church in Scotland, at the early part of the Reformation in that

\* They were Parker, Bill, May, Cox, Pilkington, Grindal, Whitehead, Sandys, Guest, and Sir Thomas Smith. See STRYPE's *Life of Smith*, 59; STRYPE's *Annals*, i., 119; FULLER, b. vii., 386. Cox and May were two of the original compilers.

† COLLIER, ii., 430; CARDWELL's *Conferences*, 31—38; COLLIER's *Records*, No. 77; BURNET, ii., 1, 499—502; STRYPE's *Annals*, i., 1, 122—124; STRYPE's *Annals*, i., 1, 107—116. Strype says—"The 24th day of June made a great alteration, that being the day appointed from which the new service-book was to be only used in all the churches. Hitherto the Latin mass-book remained, and the priests celebrated divine service, for the most part, as they did before; that is, from November, 1558, to the month of June, 1559." *Ibid.*

country. I mention them because they are generally unknown, not only to Englishmen, but also to Scotchmen. While the English exiles were disputing about the Book of Common Prayer at Frankfort, it was thankfully received by the people in Scotland, who were just emerging from the superstitions of Rome. During the reign of Queen Mary some of the English, who were compelled to quit their own country, took shelter in Scotland, taking with them the Book of Common Prayer. It was joyfully received by the reformers in that country; and in the bond signed by the *Lords of the Congregation* it was resolved—"It is thought expedient, advised, and ordained, that in all parishes of this realm the Common Prayer be read weekly, on Sundays, and other festival days, publicly in the parish churches, with the lessons from the Old and New Testament, conformed to the order of the Book of Common Prayers\*." This order was issued in the year 1557. Some writers have pretended that the English Liturgy was not intended, but that the bond referred to Knox's Liturgy. This position, however, cannot be maintained, since Knox's book was not yet known in Scotland. The truth is, that the Scottish reformers, so far from opposing the introduction of a Liturgy, were glad to adopt that which had been used with such happy results in England. By the order, the lessons were to be read on festivals as well as on Sundays, so that Knox's book could not have been intended, since it contains no mention of such lessons. The *Common Praiers* are alluded to also in the *First Book of Discipline*, 1560†. Keith's remarks are so much to the point that I shall make no apology for

\* KNOX, 110, 111; KEITH, 66.

† DUNLOP's *Confessions*, ii., 532, 36, 82.

quoting them :—" It hath been much controverted what is meant by this Book of Common Prayer, some persons strenuously affirming it to have been the Liturgy of the Church of England, and others as pertinaciously denying it. For my own part, I humbly think the affirmers need not to be very solicitous to gain their point. However, I must take notice that the first Liturgy printed at Geneva, 1558, with a preface dated the 10th of February, 1556—7, is commonly called the Book of Common Order, and sometimes only that of Common Prayer; that in it there is no mention of lessons taken out of the Old and New Testaments. What weight these observations may have, joined to the publication of that book, which was posterior to this regulation in Scotland, I submit to the judgment of the reader\*."

In the preface to the Liturgy of 1637 it is directly stated, that the Anglican Liturgy had been used in Scotland, at the beginning of the Reformation. Had the compilers of that book been mistaken, the error would have been pointed out by their adversaries. As, however, no such attempt was made, we may conclude that the assertion was true. In recent times all candid Scottish writers have admitted the fact. Thus Dr. M'Crie, after quoting a passage from a letter of Cecil to Throgmorton, in which it is said that the parish churches "have received the service of the Church of England, accordyng to King Edward's book," adds, "Another thing which inclines me to think that the English liturgy was in the eye of those who made the agreement in 1557 is, that they mention the reading of the *lessones* of the New and Auld Testament, *conforme* to

\* KEITH, 66.



the ordour of the Buik of Common Prayers\*". Dr. Cook is of the same opinion †. He says, indeed, that the matter is beyond a doubt. It was not until the year 1564 that the *Order of Geneva* was enjoined by an act of assembly to be used in Scotland; so that from 1557 to that time, a period of seven years, the Anglican Liturgy was adopted in the parish churches in that country. The Scottish people had no scruples on the subject, and many who were accustomed to visit England cheerfully joined in common prayer in our churches.

The next convocation of the province of Canterbury was assembled in the year 1562, and is one of the most important in our history. It was in this assembly that the Articles were revised and reduced into their present form and number. The convocation met January 12th; that of York also assembled at the same time. In the latter little business was transacted. In the province of Canterbury the archbishop stated, that an opportunity was now afforded of reforming things in the Church. They met sometimes in the chapter-house at St. Paul's, and at other times, by continuation, at Westminster, in Henry VII.'s chapel. On the second day of meeting, the Archbishop came to St. Paul's, where, after the Litany in English, Day, provost of Eton, preached the opening sermon. The *First Psalm* was then sung in English, and the Bishop of London administered the communion to the archbishop and bishops. The bishops and clergy then retired to

\* M'CRIE'S *Knox*, i., 424, 425.

† COOK'S *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, i., 36. The whole subject is treated at large in an article in FRASER'S *Magazine* for January, 1841, to which I refer the reader for further information on the subject.



the chapter-house, when they were addressed by the archbishop, who recommended Nowell to the lower house, by whom he was chosen to the office of prolocutor\*.

But between the queen's accession and this convocation more than two years had elapsed: and as nothing could be set forth by due authority till it was settled by the synod, the archbishops and bishops of both provinces agreed upon *eleven Articles*, as a public profession of faith, which were to be subscribed by all the clergy, and read in their respective churches. The *first* article asserts the great doctrine of the *trinity in unity*: the *second*, a belief in the Holy Scriptures, as containing all things necessary to salvation; it also comprehends the three creeds as a summary of doctrine: the *third* relates to the Church, asserting that every national church has power to ordain rites and ceremonies: the *fourth* excludes all, who are not lawfully appointed, from the ministry: the *fifth* asserts the supremacy: the *sixth*, that the Bishop of Rome has no more authority than other bishops: the *seventh* declares that the Book of Common Prayer is agreeable to Scripture, and it condemns the practice of praying in an unknown tongue; the *eighth* rejects the exorcism, oil, salt, and spittle, in baptism; the *ninth* and *tenth* refer to the *mass*; and the *eleventh* disallows of the use of images in churches. Of course these articles remained in force only until the Thirty-Nine Articles were established by authority†.

\* STRYPE'S *Annals*, i. 1, 472, 473. STRYPE'S *Parker*, i., 239. *Synod. Anglic.*, 194. WILKINS, iv., 232.

† COLLIER, ii., 463, 464. STRYPE'S *Annals*, i. 1, 223, 224. BURNET'S *Records*, ii. 2, 439—442.

The Articles of 1552 were submitted to the convocation, and some few alterations were made. In the third, the explanation of Christ's descent into hell was omitted; in that on the Scriptures it was stated that some chapters were read from the Apocrypha, but not for the confirmation of doctrine. The names of the canonical books were also specified. The Article on the Lord's Supper was shortened and simplified, by a declaration that Christ's body is given and received after a spiritual manner; and those on the *souls deceased*, on the *millenarians*, and on the *salvation of all men* after a period of punishment, making the fortieth, forty-first, and forty-second of those of 1552, were omitted. When completed, the Articles were solemnly subscribed by both houses of convocation, as the *forty-two* had been in the time of king Edward\*.

The Articles were accordingly published by authority, after they had been subscribed by both houses of convocation. They were also subscribed by the Archbishop of York, with his suffragans, on behalf of the province of York. This was by no means an uncommon practice in important matters. It was a joint agreement; a concurrence of both provinces. The province of York being small in comparison with Canterbury, and being also at a distance from the seat of government, the practice has usually been to agree to what was settled in the larger province. In such cases the Archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, have usually consulted with the Archbishop of York, before

\* BURNET, vol. ii. 1, 516, 517; vol. iii. 1, 362, 363. *Records*, vol. ii. 2, 250. Also MEYLIN'S *Hist. Ref., Appendix*, where all the variations may be seen at one view. COLLIER, ii., 485. STRYPE'S *Annals*, i. 1, 485, 486.

any important measures were transacted\*. The Articles were, therefore, set forth by authority of the convocation in both provinces, that is, by a national council.

There is one question of considerable interest, which cannot be passed over in silence. I allude to the disputed clause in the twentieth Article, which I shall enter upon, under the year 1571, when the Articles were again subscribed by both houses of convocation.

Several other matters were discussed in this convocation. Sandys, bishop of Worcester, introduced a paper, in which he proposed that the rubric in the baptismal service, authorizing laymen to baptize in cases of necessity, should be altered, that the sign of the cross should be omitted, and that a scheme of discipline should be settled†. A paper was also subscribed by *thirty-three* members of the lower house, in which they request that the Psalms in the Common Prayer should be sung by the whole congregation, or read entirely by the minister, and that musical performances and organs be laid aside; that lay baptism be not allowed; that the sign of the cross be omitted; that kneeling at the sacrament be left at the discretion of the ordinary; that copes and surplices be laid aside, and that the pulpit and desk be the same in form; that the clergy should not be compelled to wear particular gowns and caps; and that saints' days might be abrogated. Warm debates arose on these points among the clergy, some wishing to refer the questions

\* WAKE'S *State*, 376 and 604. STRYPE'S *Annals*, i. 1, 487, 488, 490, where the names of the subscribers may be seen. BURNET, vol. iii., 1, 363. ATTERBURY, 379—381. WILKINS, iv., 243.

† COLLIER, ii., 485. LE STRANGE'S *Alliance*, 241.



to the upper house, others declaring against changes altogether. The articles were rejected by the majority\*. That the changes would have produced much confusion must be obvious. To instance one of their requests, namely, that kneeling at the sacrament should be left to the ordinary; in such a case, there would have been one practice in one diocese, and another in the next adjoining, so that uniformity would have been impossible.

The registers of this convocation were destroyed in the fire of London, in 1666. But a journal of the proceedings of the upper house, taken from certain extracts of the proceedings of convocation from 1529 to 1562, was published by Bishop Gibson in his *Synodus Anglicana*, in the year 1702. Strype has also collected a mass of materials respecting it, from sources to which he had access, when occupied in compiling his laborious works†. Nowell's Catechism and Jewell's Apology were submitted to, and sanctioned by, this convocation. In a paper of matters, in Strype, to be presented to the parliament and synod, are these notices:

“*First*, a Catechism is to be set forth in Latin, which is already done by Mr. Dean of St. Paul's, and wanteth only viewing.

“*Secondly*, certain Articles, containing the principal grounds of Christian religion, are to be set forth, much like to such Articles as were set forth a little before the death of King Edward. Of which Articles the most part may be used, with addition and correction, as shall be thought convenient.

“*Thirdly*, to these articles also may be adjoined

\* COLLIER, ii., 486.; STRYPE'S *Annals*, i., 1, 499, 504.

† *Synodus Anglicana*; STRYPE'S *Annals*, i., 1, 471, 472.



the Apology (writ by Bishop Jewell) lately set forth, after it hath been once again revised, and so augmented or corrected, as occasion serveth.

"Then to be joined in one book, and by common consent to be authorized\*."

Nowell drew up the Catechism at the recommendation of Cecil, making considerable use of Ponet's, which had been set forth under King Edward. When approved by the lower house, it was sent up to the bishops, who gave their sanction. The book, however, was not published until 1570, when, at the request of the two archbishops, it was printed. It was reprinted in 1572 and in 1578, and translated into English by Norton in 1571. In the controversy with Martin Mar-Prelate, Bishop Cooper, in 1589, distinctly asserts that it was authorized by the Church of England. In short, it received the fullest sanction that could be given to any work, for it was allowed by both houses of convocation†. Strype elsewhere says—"Now was finished that notable Catechism compiled by Alexander Nowell, the dean of St. Paul's, in elegant and pure Latin, which having been carefully examined, reviewed, and corrected by the bishops and clergy in the convocation last year, and subscribed by the lower house, was designed to be set forth as by them allowed and recommended as their own: and this not only for the standing use of the Church, but to put to silence its enemies abroad, who

\* STRYPE's *Annals*, i., 1, 473, 474, 522. BURNET, iii. 1, 363, 364.

† STRYPE's *Annals*, 527—529; STRYPE's *Parker*, ii., 17; *Synod. Anglic.*, 215; COLLIER, ii., 491. Collier remarks in his margin that the *Synodus Anglicana* only notices its being passed in the lower house. There can, however, be no doubt of the fact that it was sanctioned by both houses.

hitherto had objected to the Protestants here that nothing touching religion was with any authority or consent of any number of the learned here set forth\*." A Shorter Catechism, being an abridgment of the former, was drawn up and published by the author for the instruction of younger children†. This was done in the year 1574. The Shorter Catechism was also translated into English in 1587.

Jewell's Apology was published in 1562, the same year in which the Articles were approved in convocation. It was set forth by authority of the queen, and also by the bishops. From what has been already stated, it is clear that Parker intended to comprise the *Articles*, the *Catechism*, and the *Apology*, in one volume, to be put forth as the authorized documents of the Anglican Church.

The question of discipline was also discussed in this convocation; and certain measures were proposed by the lower house, though no canons or regulations were agreed upon. All the proceedings on this subject may be seen in Strype‡.

With respect to the Homilies and their authority, it may be observed that their recognition is involved in subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. Both books are recognized; the *first* containing *twelve* Homilies set forth in the time of Edward VI., and the *second*, containing *twenty-one*, published in the reign of Elizabeth. The *second* book was ready for publication when King Edward died, and was composed by the men who

\* STRYPE'S *Grindall*, 138, 139.

† STRYPE'S *Parker*, ii., 18.

‡ STRYPE'S *Annals*, i, i., 508—512, 520, 521; STRYPE'S *Grindall*, 100, 101; BURNET, iii., 1, 365; WAKE'S *State*, 603.

had drawn up the *first* book. In reply to the objection founded on the expression "*necessary for these times*," Fuller remarks—"I confess what is necessary in one age may be less needful in another; but what in one age is *godly and wholesome doctrine* cannot in another be ungodly and unhealthful; as if our faith did follow *fashions*, and *truth* alter with the *times*, like Ahitophel his counsel, though good in itself, yet not at some seasons\*." The book was printed in 1563. Prefixed to the second book is an *admonition* relative to the *lessons* to be read in the church; "and where it may so chance some one or other chapter of the Old Testament to fall in order to be read upon the Sundays or holydays, which were better to be changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of such chapters beforehand."

It has been argued from this clause, that a discretionary power is vested in the clergy to change the lessons at pleasure. A few remarks, therefore, on this point are necessary.

In King Edward's Liturgies there were no proper lessons for Sundays; but the chapters were read in succession, as is still the case in our daily services. It is clear that the *admonition* was written before the publication of the book in 1563, when proper lessons for Sundays and holydays had not been fixed. In the Book of Common Prayer, as revised under Queen Elizabeth, proper lessons are appointed; and as the book was established by parliament, the lessons were sanctioned by the same authority; consequently, even at that time, no clergyman could take upon himself to change them,

\* FULLER, ix., 75.



because the act of parliament was of greater obligation than the admonition. The admonition was intended to grant a liberty to the clergy after the queen's accession before proper lessons were appointed; and it is singular that it was not suppressed when the defect was supplied. It is ordered by the Act of Uniformity, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the Book of Common Prayer was to be used "in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorized by parliament in the said fifth and sixth year of the reign of King Edward VI.; with one alteration, or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year." The *admonition* could not be pleaded against the *act*. The very words of the admonition, "where it may so chance some one or other chapter of the Old Testament to fall," prove that it refers to the period before the act, when the chapters were taken in order. They could not refer to the period subsequent to the act, when lessons were fixed for Sundays, and therefore could not be said to *chance to fall*.\*

But the case is still clearer since the last Act of Uniformity. The Calendar and Tables of Lessons are a part of the Book of Common Prayer: consequently they are enjoined by act of parliament, and no royal injunction, even were it to be issued now, could over-

\* Strype observes, "By which passage it may seem that this admonition, and consequently the whole second book, was wrote and finished before the queen's first parliament; for in the Act of Uniformity then made this was then provided for, and the alteration of the lessons for the Sundays, as it was in the old Common Prayer Book, is taken notice of in that act, as one of the alterations confirmed by that act; so that I wonder that clause was not left out of the admonition, printed after the Sunday lessons were corrected."—STRYPE'S *Annals*, i., 2, 105.



turn an act of parliament. It seems strange, therefore, that clergymen should plead the admonition: and it is clear, that the men who do so are unacquainted with the whole question. The following *rubrical* directions occur in "*the order how the rest of Holy Scripture is appointed to be read,*" namely: "*The Old Testament is appointed for the first lessons at morning and evening prayer. The New Testament is appointed for the second lessons at morning and evening prayer.*" Now, the admonition did not, even when it was in force, authorize the substitution of one chapter of the *Old Testament* for another, but the substitution of one from the *New Testament* for one from the *Old*: so that the parties who plead the admonition violate their own principle, unless they read a chapter from the *New Testament*, and in such cases two chapters from the *New* would be read, and not one from the *Old*. But the Church expressly declares, that a chapter from the *Old Testament* shall be read at every service. In short, the practice is altogether indefensible: and I should not have noticed the subject, had I not been aware that there are clergymen, who, from total ignorance of the question, choose to plead the authority of the admonition.

During several years the convocation merely met and was prorogued. In 1566, however, the convocation of both provinces assembled, though little if any business of an ecclesiastical character was transacted. They were assembled chiefly for the purpose of granting subsidies to the crown\*.

A.D. 1571.—The next important meeting of convocation took place this year. The sermon was preached by Whitgift: and Aylmer, then Archdeacon of Lincoln,

\* WAKE'S *State*, 502.

was chosen prolocutor of the lower house. At the *third* session it was observed, that the Bishop of Gloucester had not appeared. After due summons, therefore, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him by the archbishop. It was strongly suspected, that he was inclined to popery, or that he was unwilling to subscribe the Articles. At the next session the sentence was ordered to be made public in the cathedral at Gloucester. The bishop afterwards submitted, when the sentence was removed. In this assembly the Thirty-nine Articles were read, and again solemnly confirmed and subscribed by both houses. It was ordered that the Book of Articles should be reprinted, under the direction of Jewell, bishop of Sarum; and that every bishop should take a sufficient number of copies for the supply of the clergy, to whom they were to be delivered at visitations or diocesan synods. Further, it was ordered, that the Articles should be read four times every year in every parish, and that in future no one should be admitted to holy orders until he had solemnly subscribed them. It was ordered also, that all the members of the lower house, who had not subscribed formerly, should subscribe now\*.

The Articles were now published in Latin, and English, as they had been in 1562. It seems, however, that the clergy were not enjoined subscription until this time. By the canons passed in this convocation, which will be noticed presently, the bishops were ordered to demand the licenses of the clergy, and not to restore them until subscription to the Articles had been enforced. This measure was offensive to some of the clergy, whose

\* WAKE'S *State*, 604; STRYPE'S *Parker*, ii., 53; COLLIER, ii., 530; WILKINS, iv., 263—269.

views were opposed to full conformity, and the year 1571 is by some writers termed the *woful year of subscription*. From that period the Articles have been subscribed by all clergymen at ordination, on being licensed to a cure, and at institution to a benefice.

The succession of our bishops is a question into which I shall not enter at length: I will merely observe, that bishops have always existed in England. In every age they were the governors of the church, and from the present time up to the introduction of Christianity, the succession can be traced with as much accuracy as the line of our kings. Some persons allege against what is termed the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession, that we receive it from Rome, and that it depends on the succession of the popes: but we have nothing to do with Rome in the matter. Nor does it concern us to establish what may be termed a personal succession. In many countries it is not easy to trace the line of kings, though it is known, that they were governed by kings. We know that bishops have always ordained presbyters, and this fact is sufficient, even though the names of all the archbishops and bishops in early times may not be known. The succession, therefore, as held by the Anglican Church, is explained in the *preface* to the Ordination Service: "It is evident unto all men diligently reading the Holy Scriptures, and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been three orders of ministres in Christ's Church,—bishops, priests, and deacons." This point is so clear, that candid writers among the presbyterians, such as Calvin, Beza, Baxter, and others have admitted it. The Church of England declares that bishops, priests, and deacons, have always existed in the church. This is the *apostolical succession*: for the



Apostles appointed bishops, who again appointed others, from whom the order has been continued to the present time: and it is no argument against the doctrine to allege that in early times the names of individual bishops cannot be ascertained.

Into the Romish *fable* of the *Nag's Head Ordination* I need not enter, since no respectable author has ever given any credit to the statement. I will, therefore, merely refer the reader to the writers quoted below for full information on the subject\*.

But before we proceed, it will be necessary to consider the authority of the disputed clause in the twentieth article: "*The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.*" The controversy arose during the period of Laud's power. In the year 1637, Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne were censured in the Star Chamber for their attacks upon the Church of England. Among the charges alleged against Laud was this, that he had inserted the clause in the editions published by his order without any authority. This led to an examination of the subject, the result of which was stated by the archbishop, in his reply, at the time when the sentence was passed upon these three individuals. Laud even charged the Puritans with *razing* out the clause: and, certainly, there was more reason for such a conclusion, than that

\* MASON'S *Vindication*, by Lindsay, 1728; BRAMHALL'S *Consecration and Succession of Protestant Bishops Vindicated, and the infamous Fable of the Nag's Head clearly confuted*, 8vo.; COURAYER'S *Defence of the Validity of the English Ordinations: and Defence of the Dissertation*, 3 vols., 1728; WILLIAMS'S *Succession of Protestant Bishops Asserted*, 8vo.; BROWN'S *Concio ad Clerum*, 4to., 1688: in this work the Record is most beautifully printed from the MS.



Laud had inserted it surreptitiously. Laud, in a speech delivered at the time—a speech of singular clearness—remarks: “But for the Articles made in the queen’s time, and now in force, that this clause should not be found in English in Latin copies, till the year 1628, that it was set forth with the king’s declaration before it, is to me a miracle; but your lordships shall see the falsehood and boldness of these men.

“What! is this affirmative clause in no copy, English or Latin, till the year 1628? Strange! why, my lords, I have a copy of the Articles in English of the year 1612, and of the year 1605, and of the year 1593; and in Latin of the year 1563, which was one of the first printed copies, if not the first of all. And in all these this affirmative clause for the Church’s power is in\*.”

There is a manuscript copy of the Articles in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with the signatures of Parker and several bishops,—the very copy used in convocation, and bequeathed by Archbishop Parker to this college†. In this copy the clause is wanting, but the absence proves nothing, one way or the other; for it was never duly sanctioned by the crown, and was probably nothing more than a draught or sketch, to be altered or amended as circumstances might require. Strype remarks, that it cannot be a record, since so many strokes of Parker’s red-lead pencil appear upon it‡. According to Strype, the archbishop usually marked the books which he read with a red-

\* LAUD’S *Speech in the Star Chamber*, the 12th of June, 1637. London, 4to., 1637, pp. 67, 68.

† It would seem that Parker kept it because it was not a record, bequeathing it to his college at his death. The copy actually made the record was lodged in the Register’s Court.

‡ STRYPE’S *Parker*, ii., 55.

lead pencil\*. It seems, therefore, certain that the manuscripts at Cambridge were the copies used in the convocation, which were subscribed by the members of both houses; but that they were of no authority, inasmuch as the final corrections were not made, and the official copy, which was destroyed in the fire of London, actually contained the disputed clause. This fact is decisive of the whole question; and that such was the fact it is not possible to deny. The question cannot be stated with more clearness than in the words of Laud, in the speech already mentioned: "But, my lords, I shall make it plainer yet; for 'tis not fit, concerning an article of religion, and an article of such consequence for the order, truth, and peace of this Church, you should rely upon my copies, be they never so many, or never so ancient. Therefore I sent to the public records in my office; and here, under my officer's hand, who is a public notary, is returned me the twentieth Article, with this affirmative clause in it, and there is also the whole body of the Articles to be seen." This very document which was submitted to the lords, signed by the notary, was in existence in 1715, when Bennet published his valuable *Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*†. This fact is conclusive. The records were open to all persons; and had there been an error, it would have been detected by the archbishop's enemies. It is

\* STAYNE'S *Annals*, i., 1, 485. A most minute account of these MS. copies may be seen in BENNET'S *Essay*, pp. 176—211; and in a "Vindication of the Church of England from the Aspersions of a late Libel, intituled *Priestcraft in Perfection*," &c., pp. 74—123.

† It was then in the possession of Colonel Hale, of Cottrells, in the county of Wilts, the grandson of Sir Matthew Hale. See BENNET'S *Essay*, 166. Whether it is still in existence I am not able to determine.

true that those records were destroyed in 1666; but it is also true, that they were open to public inspection until that time; so that it is not possible to suppose that the clause was not in the authentic copy signed by the two houses, and sanctioned by the crown. In 1563, the Articles were published in Latin by Wolf, and with the royal authority; and this edition has the disputed clause. Its omissions in various subsequent editions may easily be explained. The clause was not forged in order to curb the Puritans; but it was probably omitted in the first instance under the influence of persons who were friendly to their views: at all events, it is certain that the clause formed a part of the article in its original state. Heylin's testimony may be added in support of the archbishop's. He observes: "Thus much I can say of mine own knowledge, that having occasion to consult the records of convocation, I found this controverted clause, *verbatim*, in these following words, *Habet Ecclesia ritus statuendo jus, et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem*.\*" This subject is one of considerable interest, and the reader may see all that can be said upon it in the authorities quoted below†.

In the year 1628 an edition of the Articles was published, under the superintendence of Laud, with a royal declaration prefixed—the declaration which is now retained in most of the copies in the Book of Common Prayer. Prior to this period there was no declaration.

\* HEYLIN'S *Examen Historicum*, pp. 144, 145.

† BENNET'S *Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles*, 1715; A *Vindication of the Church of England*, 1710. These are the best works on the subject, and nothing is omitted. COLLIER has given an abstract of the latter, vol. ii., 486—490; STRYPE'S *Annals*, i., 1, 485; STRYPE'S *Parker*, ii., 54—57; FULLER, ix., 73, 74; CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, i., 34—41.



Burton, as has been already observed, charged the archbishop with forging the clause in question, alleging that it was not to be found in any of the previously existing copies. It was shown, however, that it did exist in several copies, and further, that it was to be found in the *original*, signed by the convocation, and authorised by the crown. The edition of 1628 is that from which all the subsequent impressions have been derived, since none of the previous copies contained the royal declaration. Such was the origin of a controversy, which has often been discussed since that period with no small degree of acrimony\*.

Besides the ratification of the Articles, a book of canons was also arranged and settled by this convocation, under the following title: "*Liber quorundam Canonum Disciplinæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.*" The book was duly authorised by the upper house, but, from some unexplained cause, it was not submitted to the lower, though there can be no doubt that it would have been sanctioned by that assembly. These canons were followed by the bishops in the management of their dioceses; nor was any objection raised on the ground of want of authority. The queen, it seems, considered that the authority of the bishops was sufficient, or that the lower house was included in the decisions of the upper†. Under the head *De Conciana-*

\* I may remark that I have examined several editions prior and subsequent to 1628. Since that year the clause has never been omitted: before, some editions have it, while from others it is excluded. A copy of the edition of 1628 is now in my possession, with those of 1630 and 1638. I have also a somewhat remarkable edition printed by John Day in 1575; it is remarkable as being, I believe, the last edition without the disputed clause.

† STURGE'S *Parker*, ii., 60.



*toribus* we have a proof of the regard paid by the Anglican Church to the ancient fathers. It is ordered, that preachers "should not teach anything as matter of faith religiously to be observed, but that which is agreeable to the Old and New Testament, and collected out of the same doctrine by the ancient fathers and catholic bishops of the Church\*." These canons were also subscribed and approved by Grindall, archbishop of York, and his suffragans†.

By these canons the *Martyrology* of John Foxe was authorized as a public work. It was ordered to be placed in the halls of bishops, in cathedral churches, and in the houses of the archdeacons. In the case of bishops, it is specified, that the book should be for the use of the servants and guests. Collier mentions the circumstance, but remarks, that we are not to infer, from such an order, that the convocation believed all the matters of fact reported in the history‡. It is evident, however, that the convocation placed a higher value on the work than Collier did, and that, though they might not feel called upon to decide upon every fact, they regarded it as a true history of the Church, or they would not have sanctioned it by such a solemn decision. Under the head *Ludimagistri*, we have the following clause: "*Nec alium Latinum Catechismum quam qui editus anno 1570, quem etiam Anglice redditum pueros, qui Latine nesciunt, docere volumus,*" which evidently refers to Nowell's Catechism.

Some few matters were transacted in parliament this

\* SPARROW'S *Collections*; STRYPE'S *Annals*, ii., 1, 107; also Dedication to JEWELL'S *Works*, 1611.

† STRYPE'S *Parker*, ii., 57—62.

‡ COLLIER, ii., 531. See also HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, 613.

year, which, though not connected with the convocation, are yet so purely ecclesiastical in their character, that a slight notice of them is necessary. It will be remembered that Henry VIII. was authorized to appoint a committee of thirty-two persons to reform the ecclesiastical law. These persons, as was noticed in a previous chapter, were to have power to meet from time to time; but until that work should be completed, the canons in use, which were not contrary to the laws or the prerogative, were to remain in force\*. The powers were granted to Edward VI., in whose reign the work, known under the title *Reformatio Legum*, was drawn up by Cranmer, Goodrich, Cox, May, Peter Martyr, Rowland Taylor, and others. These laws were translated into Latin by Haddon and Cheke. The death of Edward put an end to the attempt; and the book remained in manuscript until this year, when it was printed by Day, with a preface by John Foxe, the martyrologist. It was the object of the original compilers to procure its confirmation by parliament, as a code of ecclesiastical laws, to the supercession of all the old canons. The work was completed, and nothing was wanted but the royal confirmation, as appears from the Act of Confirmation, which is prefixed to the book. The clergy complained that some of the old canons were injurious to the prerogative, and burdensome to the people. They prayed, therefore, that an examination should be made; and, in consequence of their petition, the work was undertaken. The subject was at this time brought before parliament; but as the scheme was discouraged by the crown, the attempt to get the book authorized completely failed. It was

\* GIBSON'S *Codex*, 975.

reprinted in 1640; but as no attempt has since been made to reform the canon law, the canons remain in the state in which they were left by the Act of Submission\*.

A.D. 1572.—The next year the convocation met in both provinces. In that of York nothing of any importance was transacted, while very little was effected in that of Canterbury. In the latter, the archbishop's speech at the opening of the convocation is extant. Whitgift was chosen to fill the office of prolocutor of the lower house. Various prorogations took place till the year 1575, when several important subjects were introduced†. It was opened under the presidency of the Bishop of London, the see of Canterbury being vacant; but Grindall was soon after translated from York, when he presided in the convocation. A Book of Articles was framed and subscribed by both houses, and then published by royal authority. Several of them are still regarded in the regulation of the affairs of the Church, being embodied in the canons of 1604. Testimonials prior to ordination were required, and the candidates were to be able to give an account of their faith in Latin. It was also enacted, that no one should be admitted to the order of deacon until he had attained the age of twenty-three, nor to that of priest before the age of twenty-four. Bishops were not to be at liberty to ordain persons from other dioceses without

\* STRYPE'S *Parker*, ii., 62, 63; STRYPE'S *Annals*, ii., 1, 96, 97; COLLIER, ii., 326. I have two copies of this book, with different titles; the one of the date of 1640, the other of 1641. They are alike in all respects except the titles.

† WAKE'S *State*, 503—605; STRYPE'S *Parker*, ii., 207—211; STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, i., 46, 47; COLLIER, i., 46, 47; WILKINS, iv., 270, 273, 279, 280, 283.



letters dismissory from the bishops of those sees. The bishops were instructed to see that the Church Catechism was diligently taught in every parish. An article was passed on the subject of private baptism; but when the whole were published by the queen's authority, it was omitted. It had been the practice to allow lay-baptism in cases of necessity; but the convocation decided, though the article was suppressed, that it should be administered by a lawful minister. This fact, therefore, is an evidence of the sense of the Anglican Church at that time. Still, as the article was not published, the matter remained in the same state until the commencement of the reign of James I., when certain alterations were made in the Book of Common Prayer\*. Whitgift, however, and several other individuals, defended the practice in cases of necessity, but in no other. They supposed that if the essentials were preserved, the baptism was valid, even though performed by a layman, or even a midwife, provided the necessity was clear†.

It does not appear that any business was entered upon in the province of York, beyond the grant of the usual subsidy.

A.D. 1580.—The convocation was prorogued from time to time until this year, when it was assembled in the province of Canterbury‡. At this time Grindall was under sequestration, and consequently the Bishop

\* STRYPE's *Annals*, ii., 1, 533; STRYPE's *Grindall*, 289, 290, 537—541; COLLIER, ii., 551, 552; WAKE's *State*, 606, who has given the Articles in his Appendix, pp. 230—232. CARDWELL has printed them in his *Synodalia*, vol. i., 132—138; HEYLIN's *Hist. of Presbyterians*, p. 245; GIBSON's *Codex*, 446, 447.

† STRYPE's *Whitgift*, iii., 139.

‡ WILKINS, iv., 284, 288—292.



of London presided. An address was presented to the queen for his restoration; but whether from the convocation, or only from the clergy, is not certain. Fuller, indeed, states that the convocation petitioned the queen in his favour. The subject was probably discussed in convocation, but the actual proceedings cannot be ascertained\*.

Some other matters were, however, treated of. A motion was submitted relative to the enforcement of the preceding Articles, and another respecting the *Family of Love*; and there were certain discussions on the subject of excommunication; but nothing was concluded, except the grant of the usual subsidy. In the convocation of York, too, the subsidy was the only business†.

A.D. 1584.—We now proceed to the latter part of the year 1584, when the convocations of both provinces were assembled. York only granted a subsidy, being prorogued from time to time without transacting business‡. In Canterbury several topics were brought under discussion. A clergyman was summoned to answer a charge of heresy, it being alleged that he had said that “the Old and New Testaments were fables,” with other blasphemous expressions. He acknowledged his error; and in his abjuration all the erroneous doctrines are specified. Penance was enjoined to this effect, that he should attend at Paul’s Cross on the following Sunday,

\* COLLIER, ii., 552; STRYPE’s *Grindall*, 291; FULLER, ix., 120. The petition is preserved by FULLER. WAKE’s *State*, 503.

† WAKE’s *State*, 503, 606; FULLER, ix., 135; STRYPE’s *Grindall*, 382—389. The Forms of Excommunication and Penance were submitted to the convocation, but not passed. WILKINS, iv., 298—301.

‡ WAKE’s *State*, 504.

standing before the preacher with a faggot on his shoulder; that he should recant his heresies in the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, before the lower house of convocation; and that he should not venture to preach until duly licensed by the archbishop\*.

But the most important business related to certain articles, which were agreed upon in this convocation, and afterwards published under the title "*Articuli pro Clero.*" They relate to the admission of proper persons into holy orders; to the commutation of penance; to marriage, excommunication, pluralities, and to the *fees* paid in ecclesiastical courts†. Attached to them is a *memorandum* to the effect that the bishops should inquire into the condition, state, learning, and quality of the clergy; by whom and when they were ordained; and of what calling they were previous to ordination‡.

At the commencement of the next year certain *orders for the clergy* were sanctioned by convocation. Some of them are curious as indicative of the state of learning among the clergy at that time§. The order in the preface to the Book of Common Prayer concerning the daily service is enjoined to be observed, in order that the clergy may become better acquainted with the Scriptures. To those ministers, who were not masters of arts, the ordinary was authorized to assign one chapter of the Old or New Testament to be studied, the parties to render an account in Latin, or in English if unable to

\* STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, i., 399—400; FULLER, ix., 175, 176; COLLIER, ii., 595.

† SPARROW'S *Collections*; STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, i., 396, vol. iii., 145—50, where they are printed. STRYPE'S *Annals*, iii., i., 330. They are also printed in CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*.

‡ STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, iii., 150; WILKINS, iv., 315.

§ STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, i., 400.

do it in Latin, to the Bishop. A commonplace, or essay, was also to be given every quarter, upon which they were to write their ideas. It is remarked by Dr. Cardwell that these exercises were intended as a substitute for the *propheysings* which had been prohibited\*.

The next year a new parliament was summoned, with which the convocation also assembled. The Puritans were now rather clamorous for changes in the services and ceremonies of the Church, under the plea of a further reformation. Various matters were, therefore, discussed in the parliament, where the Puritans had considerable strength. Some of the members, it appears, petitioned the queen on the subject; and her answer is so characterized by good sense and sound reasoning that I cannot abstain from a quotation:—"Her Majesty thinketh, that though it were granted that some things were amiss in the Church, yet seeing she is fully persuaded, and knoweth it to be true, that for the very substance and grounds of true religion, no man living can justly control them: to make every day new laws in matters of circumstances, and of less moment (especially touching religion), were a means to breed great lightness in her subjects, to nourish an unstayed humour in them, in seeking still for exchanges"†.

In the province of York no business, besides the subsidy, was entered upon‡; but in Canterbury articles were framed relative to the clergy. Every minister with cure of souls, under the degree of M.A. or B.C.L., and not licensed to be a public preacher, was ordered to

\* CARDWELL'S *Doc. Annals*, ii., 1, 2.

† STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, i., 495.

‡ WAKE'S *State*, 504.



provide a *Bible*, Bullinger's *Decades* in Latin or English, and a *paper book*; to read over weekly one sermon in the *Decades*, noticing the chief matters in the *paper book*, and to show his notes to some clergyman, appointed for that purpose, once in every quarter. The penalty for refusal was, first, admonition; then, in the case of incumbents, ecclesiastical censure; and in that of curates, an inhibition. At the close is the following order, evidently in allusion to the prophesyings, which had been suppressed:—"It is concluded that the exercises above written, and no other, shall be henceforth publicly or privately used within every part of this province\*."

The complaints and petitions exhibited in this convocation prove that some of the clergy were very negligent in conducting Divine service. In short, Puritanism was advancing among the clergy to a considerable extent. A complaint was exhibited in the lower house from the diocese of Norwich, which refers, however, more to the negligence of the bishop than to that of the clergy. Another was presented from the archdeaconry of Suffolk, in which it was stated that the communion was either not at all or only partially administered; that the surplice was not worn; that holydays were not observed; and that when the sacrament was administered many persons received the elements sitting, while those who conformed with the prescribed order of the Church were called *time-servers*. These complaints are clear evidence of the irregularities which prevailed; and they further prove that the charge of undue severity in pressing conformity is not correct†.

\* STRYPE's *Whitgift*, iii., 194—196; CARDWELL's *Synodalia*, ii., 562, 563.

† STRYPE's *Whitgift*, i., 496, 497.



A.D. 1588.—This was the memorable year of the attempted invasion from Spain. The convocation was summoned for November 13th, but was prorogued until February, when a large subsidy was granted to enable the crown to repel the invasion. It was known that the continental Romanists were plotting the destruction of England. Two priests had recanted at Paul's Cross—Anthony Tyvill and William Tydder; and to provide them with the means of support, the archbishop solicited aid from the clergy in convocation\*. Certain articles, also, respecting residences, which had been put forth by the queen's authority were submitted to both houses by the archbishop. In the province of York no measures were introduced; but the convocation was prorogued from time to time until the dissolution†.

A.D. 1592.—This year the convocation of Canterbury met with the new parliament; and Andrews, so celebrated for his pulpit oratory, preached the usual sermon‡. Two papers are mentioned by Strype, who refers to *Extracts of Convocations*, then in the possession of Dr. F. Atterbury, which appear to have been submitted to convocation. The one was a paper of questions and answers respecting marriage within degrees of affinity, the other related to certain *orders* agreed upon by the bishops. It is, however, uncertain whether any business was actually transacted; and in York nothing beyond matters of form and the usual subsidy, was even attempted§.

\* STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, i., 537.

† WAKE'S *State*, 504, 505; WILKINS, iv., 335—340.

‡ STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, ii., 141, 142; WILKINS, iv., 343.

§ STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, ii., 143; CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, ii., 577; COLLIER, ii., 637; WAKE'S *State*, 505.

A.D. 1597.—Several years now elapsed without any convocation. In 1597 the convocation met in London. It appears that the practice had prevailed of choosing the deans and archdeacons, in some dioceses, proctors of the clergy, by which means, as those individuals had seats *ex officio*, the number of members was diminished. To put an end to such a practice, Whitgift ordered the following document to be issued:—

“His Grace did, since the mandate sent unto me, signify his opinion that he found some inconveniences in former convocations, that sometimes either the dean or some of the archdeacons, in some dioceses, are chosen proctors for the clergy of their diocese, whereby the appearance that is required at that solemn assembly is not so furnished as it ought to be. And, therefore, his Grace willed me to require your lordship to premonish your clergy, that no dean or archdeacon be chosen proctor for the clergy of your diocese.

“WILLIAM BLACKWELL\*.”

Early in the session the attention of the upper house was directed to the subject of parish registers, which had been very irregularly kept in some places. It was proposed that previous injunctions should be enforced, that the books should be of parchment, and that the entries should be made in a fair and legible hand†. It was also ordered that the names of all who had been married, christened, and buried, should be published in the church the Sunday after the entries had been made. This was evidently intended to secure a regular entry. A chest also was ordered to be kept in the church, for the preservation of the books, with three locks, the

\* WAKE'S *State*, 505 ; WILKINS, iv., 352.

† STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, ii., 378, 379.

keys of which were to be in possession of the minister and the two churchwardens. The regulation respecting the chests and the keys is still regarded in some parishes, though the registers, by the new act, are kept in iron chests, and in the custody of the clergyman.

The archbishop also submitted to the consideration of the house certain complaints respecting the dress of the clergy, the negligence of prebendaries in cathedrals, clandestine marriages, divorces, and other matters of a similar description<sup>\*</sup>.

It has been stated already that a body of canons was agreed upon in convocation in 1584. In this convocation they were published under this title, *Capitula sive Constitutiones Ecclesiasticæ per Archiepiscopum, Episcopos, et reliquum Clerum Cantuariensis Provinciæ, &c.*, 1597. They are arranged under twelve heads. The *first* relates to the persons to be admitted to holy orders and to benefices; the *second*, to pluralities; the *third* enjoins hospitality on beneficed clergymen; the *fourth*, that deans and canons should preach in turn in cathedrals. The *fifth* refers to marriage; the *sixth* to the question of divorce; the *seventh* to excommunication; the *eighth* to recusants; the *ninth* to penance; the *tenth* to the fees of ecclesiastical officers; the *eleventh*, to apparitors; and the *last*, to the custody of parish registers. They were published by authority of the queen, after having been confirmed in convocation<sup>†</sup>.

In the province of York the subsidy was the only business of importance<sup>‡</sup>.

<sup>\*</sup> STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, ii., 379, 380.

<sup>†</sup> SPARROW'S *Collections*. STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, ii., 383, 384. COLLIER, ii., 667. CARDWELL'S *Synod.*, i., 147.

<sup>‡</sup> WAKE'S *State*, 506.

Queen Elizabeth's last parliament met in 1601, and the convocation of both provinces assembled at the same time. In Canterbury a subsidy was granted; and the archbishop exhorted the bishops to diligence in their charges, and recommended that they should enforce the late canons. In York the subsidy was voted, which was the only business transacted. The queen's death, A.D. 1602, terminated the proceedings of convocation. It should be observed, that Barlow preached at the opening of this convocation, and Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, was chosen prolocutor of the lower house\*.

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\* STRYPE'S *Whitgift*, ii., 446. FULLER, ix., cent. xvii. p. 3. WAKE'S *State*, 506. WILKINS, iv., 363.



## CHAPTER VIII. A.D. 1602—1625.

JAMES I. Convocation, 1604. Canons. Analysis of them. Bidding Prayers. Ratification of Canons. Alterations in Liturgy. Convocation, 1605. Proceedings in Province of York on the Canons. They are adopted. Their Authority. Convocation, 1606. Overall's Book. Its contents. Proceedings during remainder of this Reign.

JAMES I. summoned his first parliament in March, A.D. 1603, the convocation meeting at the same time, according to the usual practice. The see of Canterbury being vacant by the death of Whitgift, the writ was issued to the Bishop of London, as dean of the province. They met in London, March 20th, 1603. The convocation of York met also, but as no business of importance was transacted in that province, our attention will be confined to the proceedings in the province of Canterbury\*.

At the second session Dr. Ravis was presented to the bishops as prolocutor of the lower house. Two other sessions passed over without business; but on the 13th of April, the Bishop of London exhibited the royal license, authorizing them, according to the powers vested in the crown by the act of submission, to make canons and constitutions. The license bears the date of April 12, 1604†. It appears that the king had addressed a letter to the convocation, dated the 20th of

\* WAKE'S *State*, 507.

† WAKE'S *State*, 617. ATTERBURY, 129. WILKINS, iv. 378, 379.

March, requesting them to hasten a collection for the town of Geneva, but the consideration of the canons was the commencement of the regular synodical business\*. The canons, which were subsequently passed, were submitted to the convocation by the Bishop of London, on the 2nd of May.

The following clause from the Royal Declaration prefixed to the book, asserts the principle on which the convocation is permitted to make canons and constitutions.

“We, for divers urgent and weighty causes and considerations, us thereunto especially moving, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, did, by virtue of our prerogative, royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, give and grant, by our several letters patent, under our great seal of England, the one dated the 12th day of April last past, and the other the 25th day of June then next following, full, free, and lawful liberty, license, power, and authority, unto the said lord Bishop of London, president of the said convocation, and the rest of the clergy beforementioned of the said province, that they from time to time during our first parliament, now prorogued, might confer, treat, celebrate, consider, consult, and agree, of and upon such canons, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as they should think necessary, fit, and convenient for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof.”

This was in accordance with the Act of Submission. In the *first* place the convocation was assembled by royal writ: *secondly*, the king granted his license to

\* WAKE'S *State*, 617; ATTERBURY, 129; WILKINS, iv., 378, 379.

make canons, as it is expressed in the Declaration prefixed to the book: *thirdly*, when the book was completed, he gave it his ratification, as will be noticed subsequently, without which the canons would not have been of any force.

The subjects of some of the canons gave rise to discussions in the two houses, but they were agreed upon without any difficulty. These canons are of great importance, being the only body of ecclesiastical laws by which the Anglican Church is still governed. Some notice of them is, therefore, necessary. From the Reformation the Church had been governed by the old Canon Law, and by such constitutions and injunctions as had been set forth by synodical and royal authority since that period. It was now deemed desirable to form all these into one body, in order that the clergy might be acquainted with the laws by which the Church was governed.

They are in number *one hundred and forty-one*. In all probability they were collected and arranged by Bancroft, who selected them from the synodical acts, royal injunctions, and articles, which had been set forth during the reigns of Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth. The canons of 1571, and 1597, were especially regarded in the compilation: but some new ones were added\*.

The *first* canon asserts the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical. All persons having care of souls are enjoined, at least four times every year, to make a declaration against any foreign jurisdiction. The *second* is

\* COLLIER ii., 687; FULLER, x. 23; HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, 149. The canons in the reign of Elizabeth were confirmed for her life only: consequently the convocation proceeded with great expedition, on James's accession, in arranging our present canons; GIBSON, 994.



also directed against impugners of the supremacy: and the *fourth* asserts the Church of England to be a true and apostolic Church. The next *five* relate to the impugners of the worship, the articles, the rites and ceremonies of the Church, and the ordination service: and the remaining canons of this division are directed against schismatics and conventicles. These latter canons are now set aside by the operation of the Act of Toleration, by which separate worship is allowed.

The second division is entitled "*Of Divine Service and Administation of the Sacraments:*" and it comprehends eighteen canons. The celebration of divine service on Sundays and holydays is enjoined: and persons are exhorted, not only to attend public worship, but to visit the sick and the poor. The Litany is enjoined to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays. It is clear that the Litany was read alone on those days, at that time, as is still the case in some college chapels, though such a course is not now authorized by the Book of Common Prayer; for since the last review it is appointed to be said after morning prayer. By the old rubrics it was not specified, that it should come after the usual morning service, as is the case since 1661: but undoubtedly it was read after the rest of the service on Sundays. On Wednesdays and Fridays it was probably read alone. The words are express: "Upon Wednesdays and Fridays, the minister at the accustomed hours of service shall resort to the church or chapel, and shall say the Litany prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer." By the seventeenth canon it is enjoined that no man should cover his head in the time of service; and due and lowly reverence is to be observed at the name of Jesus. As this point was one



of the stumbling-blocks to the Puritans, and since some persons still raise objections against the practice, it may be desirable to give the views of the Church of England on the subject, as expressed in this convocation. The words of the canon are these: "When in time of divine service the name of the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present as it hath been accustomed: testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true and eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind for this life and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised." There is nothing of popery in this language; yet, some persons bring the charge against the Anglican Church on the ground of this practice enjoined in the canon. With quite as much reason may the charge be alleged against dissenters for observing many things which are common to them and the Church of Rome.

The thirtieth canon explains the use of the sign of the cross in baptism: and the explanation is perfectly satisfactory: "We are sorry that his Majesty's most princely care and pains taken in the conference at Hampton Court, amongst many other points, touching this one of the cross at baptism hath taken no better effect with many, but still the use of it in baptism is so greatly stuck at and impugned."

Such is the commencement of the canon, after which various arguments are used in defence of the practice. It is well remarked in the canon, "The abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use

of it\*." It is remarkable that this canon also confirms, at least by implication, the *Apology* of Jewell. At all events the mention of it in such a manner is an evidence, that it was regarded at that time as a book duly authorized.

The next division of the canons relates to "*Ministers, their ordination, function, and charge.*" Under this division are comprehended the times for ordination, the titles, qualifications, and examination of ministers. The thirty-sixth contains *three articles*, which are subscribed by all clergymen at ordination, and also on being instituted to a benefice, or licensed to a curacy. Whitgift had previously introduced them at a period when Puritanism was making considerable progress among the

\* James, with the good sense, which, notwithstanding his pedantry, marked much of his conversation, replied to Rainolds, at the Hampton Court conference, that the abuse of the sign of the cross in the time of popery was an evidence that it was not abused before the time of popery. By such an argument he contended that the Trinity might be renounced, since it was abused in the time of popery. Turning to Rainolds, his Majesty said, "They used to wear hose and shoes in popery, therefore you shall now go barefoot." If indeed everything must be rejected which has come to us through the Church of Rome, we should be compelled to reject the Scriptures: for during the dark ages the Sacred Text was preserved by that church. This argument is admirably put by Whitgift in his reply to Cartwright respecting confirmation. Cartwright contended for giving it up altogether in consequence of the abuse. Whitgift answered the objection as follows: "If that be a sufficient reason to abolishe it, because it hath bene horribly abused, then what shall you reteyne, either in the church, or in the common lyfe of man? But I have before, in talking of apparell declared the vanitie of this reason: and yet the confirmation that is nowe used was never abused by the papistes, for they had it not, neyther any similitude of it, but only the name, whiche cannot contaminate the thyng."—WHITGIFT'S *Defence*, 1574, p. 726.

clergy, and they were now embodied in the canons. They relate to the royal supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles; and as all societies must be governed by laws, it appears strange that these articles should ever have been objected to by men who wished to serve in the Anglican church.

Institution, simony, pluralities, residence, preachers, and other similar subjects, are regulated under this division. At that time there were two licenses, one authorizing a clergyman to perform the duties of the Church in general, but not to preach, the other a special license to preach. Even beneficed men were sometimes unable to preach. The prohibition originated in the circumstances of the Church at the Reformation, when some of the clergy could not be trusted. Thus the 45th canon appoints that *beneficed men allowed to be preachers*, and residing, shall preach every Sunday; but the next canon enacts, that *beneficed men not allowed to be preachers* shall procure a preacher once every month. In these cases homilies were to be read on those Sundays on which there was no allowed preacher, and it was for this purpose that the homilies were set forth. During the reign of Elizabeth, and at the time when these canons were framed, many were necessarily ordained to the ministry who were not well qualified to instruct the people. To meet the case, therefore, the plan of granting a special license to preach was adopted, while homilies were prepared for those who were not licensed; and thus the bishops had a guarantee that the truth would be proclaimed in all churches. Thus the 46th and 49th canons specify that the homilies should be read by those ministers who were not licensed to preach; and the homilies which were then published are specified,



while the same privilege was extended to any other which might afterwards be published by lawful authority.

The 55th canon settles the question of the prayer to be used before sermon. "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer, in this form or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may." The form in the canon is a request to the people to pray:—"He shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The king, the queen, and royal family are next specified; then the clergy, the king's council, the nobility, and the commons; and the form concluded with praise for those who are departed in the faith, and a prayer for grace to be enabled to follow their example. It was, therefore, a *bidding* to pray; and hence the title, the *Bidding Prayer*.

A form somewhat similar was used in England even before the Reformation, as early as 1509\*. An ancient form in use before the Reformation is preserved by Collier:—"Ye shulle stonde up and bydde your bedys in the worshepe of oure Lord Jhesu Christ, and his moder Seynte Marye." Such was the commencement of the form, which was in use a considerable time before the Reformation. The people were called upon to pray for the pope and his cardinals. This was natural. But they were also instructed to pray for the patriarch of Jerusalem. The archbishop and bishops, monks, and friars are mentioned before the king. The clause for the king and queen is as follows:—"Ye shall bydde

\* GIBSON'S *Codex*, p. 381.



for the king of England, for the queen, and for alle her childryne." The following are curious clauses:—"Ye shulle bidde for the gwode man and the gwode wyf. Ye shulle kneele adoun and bydde for fader's sawle, for moder's sawle, for godfader's sawle, for godmoder's sawle, for godechildren's sawles, and for all the sawles of our bredryn and soosters' sawles, and for all the sawles that we bet in dette for to bid therefore, and for all the sawles that beet in purgatorie\*."

When Henry VIII. assumed the title of supreme head of the Church of England an alteration was made in the bidding prayer. The name of the pope was omitted, but those of the king and queen were retained. In the form, as it stood at that time, the souls of the dead were also specified, as was noticed in a former chapt<sup>r</sup>. Also in the *Injunctions* of Edward VI., A.D. 1547, which contain a form for the bidding of prayer, prayers for the dead are enjoined. Queen Elizabeth's *Injunctions* were published A.D. 1559. They also contain a *form*, but the clause respecting the dead is omitted. It would seem that this *form* was chiefly regarded by those who framed the canons of 1604<sup>†</sup>.

It appears from various sermons extant, that in the early period of the Reformation it was not the general practice to use the prayer, or to *bid to prayer*, until the sermon was commenced. Thus in one of Latimer's ser-

\* COLLIER, ii., App., 60. This, with another copy, somewhat different, probably the one in use immediately before the Reformation, is given by Le Strange, 171, 172.

† HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, 150; COLLIER, ii., 227.

‡ SPARROW'S *Collections*, where the forms are preserved; HEYLIN'S *Tracts*, 149—161. The whole subject is most admirably treated by Heylin. King Edward's prayer was the same as that of Henry VIII. Queen Elizabeth's was altered, praying for the dead being changed into praise for their departure. The form in the 55th canon is very similar.

mons before Henry VIII., A.D. 1536, he first names his text and enters upon his subject, and then calls upon the people to pray. So, at a much later period, Jewell, after he had entered upon the subject, and made his arrangement, called upon the people to pray, mentioning the topics according to the order in the queen's *Injunctions*. The original practice, therefore, was to commence the sermon, and then to call upon the people to unite in prayer with the preacher; and the *form* laid down in the *Injunctions* was always followed until the Puritans began to use extempore prayer. In one instance Latimer occupies several pages before he comes to the prayer. Archbishop Parker, on one occasion, concludes his sermon with the Bidding Prayer. In all the cases, too, there is some variation in the form; so that the practice with respect to the exact words was not uniform\*.

The practice of commencing the sermon before the prayer existed after the Restoration; but how long it continued I am not able to determine. Of its existence we may speak with certainty, for we have a sermon preached in 1660 at the first consecration of bishops after that event, in which the preacher occupies three pages before he comes to the prayer. He not only introduces the text, but he actually enunciates his plan: and then follows the prayer, modelled after the form in the canon. It is conceived, however, in a very high strain of loyalty, which was very natural immediately after the Restoration†.

\* LE STRANGE'S *Alliance*, 173.

† "A Sermon preached in St. Peter's, Westminster, on the first Sunday in Advent, at the Consecration of the Right Reverend Fathers in God, John Lord Bishop of Durham, William Lord Bishop of St. David's, Benjamin Lord Bishop

What, then, is the injunction of the Church on this subject? It is clear that she pursues a moderate course. She does not bind her ministers to the precise *form* in the 55th canon. They may use that *form*, or another like it; but undoubtedly they are bound, if they use what may be termed extempore prayer, to follow the method pointed out in the canon. That method is as follows:—*First*, the substance, to pray for the Church, the sovereign and the royal family, and the lords spiritual and temporal. *Secondly*, the words of the canon are to be used, or words nearly similar. *Thirdly*, the prayer is to be brief, *as briefly as conveniently they may*. Thus the Church intends that either in these very words, or in other words of a similar import, the minister should move the people to prayer. While, therefore, the clergy use a prayer to the same effect as that contained in the canon there is no breach of the injunctions of the Church\*.

The usual practice now is to use a collect with the Lord's Prayer. And it may be observed, that the practice of extempore prayer, unless it be a prayer modelled exactly after the form in the canon, is quite unauthorized, and is a reflection on the reformers and on the Liturgy which the Church has prescribed.

It is questionable whether all the clergy observe the 56th canon, which enacts that the clergy, who chiefly attend to preaching, leaving other duties to be

of Peterborough, Hugh Lord Bishop of Landaff, Richard Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Brian Lord Bishop of Chester, and John Lord Bishop of Exeter. By W. S. B. D." 4to. London, 1660. Sancroft was the author.

\* In the convocation of 1661 a committee of the lower house was appointed to compile a form of prayer to be used before sermon; but nothing was concluded.



performed by their curates, shall read the morning and evening service twice, and administer the sacrament of baptism twice in every year. Catechising is enjoined by the 59th canon. Our reformers thought much of catechizing; in the present day, perhaps, it is not sufficiently regarded. The canon ordains that the young shall be catechized, for half an hour or more, before evening prayer, on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, every Sunday. The Rubric also enjoins catechizing, though the time specified is after the second lesson, at evening service, and not before the commencement, as in the canon. But both the rubrics and the canon enjoin the practice. By the 65th and 66th canons all ministers are commanded to confer with *recusants*, or *papists*, residing in their respective parishes.

In the visitation of the sick, the Church gives the ministers a discretionary power. Those who have no license to preach are to use the order in the Book of Common Prayer; but preachers are allowed by the 67th canon to act as they "*Think most needful and convenient.*" As, therefore, the usual license is now considered a preaching license: all the clergy are at liberty to exercise their own discretion. This canon also mentions the passing bell: "When any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to do his last duty." It is questionable whether such a custom, though enjoined, would not now be stigmatized as *popish*. The canon adds, "And after the party's death there shall be rung no more but one short peal, and one other before the burial, and one other after the burial." This custom is still observed in all our churches.



Several of the succeeding canons relate to burials, baptisms, and the keeping of the registers. The chests appointed by the canons still remain in most parishes, and are used for the parish books, the registers being now kept in a separate chest of iron, according to an act of parliament in the reign of George III.

The 72nd canon was evidently levelled against the prophesyings, which had been suppressed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. "Ministers not to appoint public or private fasts, or prophesyings, or to exercise, but by authority." By the 75th canon, *cards* are prohibited to the clergy, so that those individuals who argue, that on scriptural grounds such amusements cannot be condemned, should bear in mind that their own Church forbids the practice.

The next division of the canons is thus headed:— "*Things appertaining to churches.*" The *Bible*, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the *Book of Homilies*, are to be kept in all churches. A font of stone is to be set up in every church "in the ancient usual place." The situation of the font is settled by this canon; for the usual place was near the entrance, at the west end of the church, as is evident from its position in our old churches, in many of which it still remains on the spot on which it was originally erected. Then the material is to be stone; yet in some churches small moveable fonts of wood have been introduced. The situation of the communion table is not fixed in the canons, but is left to the discretion of the ordinary, as is the case in the rubric in the communion service. The words are rather remarkable: "At which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard

of the communicants in his prayer and administration, and the communicants also more conveniently and in more number may communicate with the said minister." It is also ordered that the ten commandments should be placed on the east end of every church and chapel, and that *other chosen sentences* should also be written in convenient places. A pulpit and a chest for alms are also to be provided in every church.

It is not necessary to notice more than the last division of the canons, on *The Authority of Synods*. A national synod, consisting of the convocations of both provinces, is the only representative of the Anglican Church. To such an assembly it is competent to make alterations, and to no other.

Appended to the canons is the royal *ratification*, or *confirmation*, according to the terms of the Act of Submission. It is remarkable that in this ratification, the king orders the canons to be executed, not only in the province of Canterbury, where they were enacted, but in the province of York also, whose convocation had not given their sanction. This was a strong step on the part of his Majesty; but as the canons were generally approved it was deemed desirable to assent to them in the province of York. Accordingly, as the convocation could not even treat of canons without the royal permission, his Majesty granted his license for that purpose, as he had already done in Canterbury, in the case of the canons which were now published.

The Book of Common Prayer was revised and published in 1604, but it was not submitted to the convocation. James authorised the bishops, after the conference at Hampton Court, to make such alterations as were deemed desirable, and then the book was

printed by the authority of the crown. The king addressed a letter to the ecclesiastical commissioners, in which he first recites what was enacted respecting the supremacy; after which he proceeds, "Whereas also by act of parliament it is provided and enacted, that whenever we shall cause to take further order for or concerning any ornament, righte, or ceremony in the book commonly called 'the Book of Common Prayer, &c.,' and our pleasure known therein, either to our commissioners, authorized under our great seal of England, for causes ecclesiastical, or to the metropolitane of this our realm of England, that then further order should be therein taken accordingly." He then proceeds, "We, therefore, understanding that there were in the said booke certeyne thinges which might require some declaration and enlargement by way of explanation; and in that respect having required you our metropolitane, and you the Bishops of London and Chichester, and some other of our commissioners, &c., according to the intent and meaning of the said statute, and some other statutes alsoe, and by our supreme authority and prerogative royal, to take some care and payns therein, have received from you the said particular thinges in the said booke declared, and enlarged by way of explanation, made by you our metropolitane, and the rest of our said commissioners, in manner and forme following."

We have here the authority by which the changes in 1604 were made in the Book of Common Prayer. It was at best a questionable authority, and the legitimate method would have been to have submitted the book to the convocation for revision. We are not now affected by the question, indeed, because the Book of Common



Prayer, in its present form, was duly authorized by convocation in 1661; and I allude to the subject simply for the purpose of noticing the progress of the Liturgy to its present state. After the above words in the royal letter, or declaration, the various changes are distinctly specified. I shall not quote the exact words of the document, but merely point out what the changes were.

In the absolution *rubric*, the words "or remission of sins" were added: in the gospel for the second Sunday after Easter, the words "*Christ said*" to be printed in *italics*, or words different from the text; and the words "to his disciples" omitted. This alteration was made in consequence of the objection raised by the Puritans, who stated that the gospel read, *Jesus said to his disciples*, instead of *Jesus said to the Pharisees*. The bishops on that occasion remarked, that it was uncertain, as both the disciples and Pharisees were present; and the king, with his usual good sense, suggested that the word *disciples* should be omitted, and the question left undecided. The *rubric* before *private baptism* was altered, for whereas in the time of Queen Elizabeth and King Edward, it was so framed that in cases of necessity any person present might administer the rite, the matter was now settled by the insertion of the words *lawful minister*. Some words were added before the declaration of the use of confirmation, and the questions and answers on the sacraments were appended to the catechism.

Some few changes were made too in the calendar. To August 26 this note was added: "The 13th of Daniel, touching the historie of Susanna, is to be read unto theis words (and King Astiages,) &c." The same day, at evening prayers, the 30th chapter of Proverbs



was substituted for the 14th of Daniel concerning *Bel and the Dragon*. On the *first* of October, instead of the *fifth* chapter of Tobit, a portion of the *sixth* of Exodus was appointed at morning prayer; and in the evening, the 20th of Joshua was substituted for the 6th of Tobit. On the 2nd of October, the 22nd chapter of Joshua was to be read for the 8th of Tobit; and on the 17th of November, the 46th chapter of Ecclesiasticus was to be read as far as the words "*After this he told, &c.*"

Several prayers and collects were also added. After the prayer for the king, one for the queen and royal family was inserted, and also a petition in the Litany to the same effect. The particular thanksgivings were now added; and these were all the changes made in the book at this time.

After the specification of the changes came the royal confirmation:—"Forasmuch as wee having maturely considered of them, do hold them to be very agreeable to our own several directions, upon conference with you and others, and that they are in no part repugnant to the word of God, nor contrarie to anie thinge that is already contained in that book; nor to any of our laws or statutes made for allowance and confirmation of the same; wee by virtue of the said statutes, and by our supreme authoritie, doe fully approve, allowe, and ratify all and every one of the said declarations and enlargements by way of explanation."

His Majesty proceeds to authorise the printing of the book by Barker. The document was dated the 9th day of February.

The question of *lay-baptism*, of which there will be occasion to speak in a subsequent chapter, was now set at rest. Gibson, after remarking the changes in the

*rubrics*, says, "And other expressions in other parts of the service, which seemed before to admit of *lay-baptism*, were so turned as expressly to exclude it\*."

The parliament, as is well known, was summoned to meet on the 5th of November, 1605. In consequence, however, of the discovery of the Gunpowder Treason, it did not assemble until the 9th. The convocation of Canterbury met on the 6th of November, when Overall was chosen prolocutor of the lower house. A book was laid before the convocation by the archbishop concerning the state of the Church, and both houses were desired to take it into consideration†.

In the province of York, also, the convocation assembled on the 6th of November. Their business was interrupted by the death of the archbishop, but the king, by a new writ, dated January 22nd, addressed to the guardian of the spiritualities, commanded them to proceed. In the vacancy of the see, the Bishop of Bristol, as Dean of York, acted as president‡. They addressed his Majesty for a royal commission to treat, conclude, and do such things in convocation as should be for the general good of the province. This request was made in consequence of the canons already published, and, by the king's confirmation, ordered to be executed in the province of York. The canons were not disliked by the bishops and clergy in this province, but they were anxious to maintain their own privileges; for, as they had not concurred in enacting the canons, it was not reasonable to expect them to submit until they had actually sanctioned

\* GIBSON'S *Codex*, 447.

† WAKE'S *State of the Church*, 507. WILKINS, iv., 412.

‡ WAKE'S *State*, 507.

them in their own convocation. The convocation of Canterbury could not bind the province of York. They were anxious, by passing the canons in due form, to submit to his Majesty, and at the same time to vindicate their own privileges\*.

The license was therefore granted, according to their request. It was in the usual form; and after it had been communicated to the convocation, the canons of the preceding year, agreed upon in the province of Canterbury, were read, agreed to, and adopted as their own. The decree commences thus:

"Whereas, we, the president and clergy of the convocation of the province of York, authorized by his Majesty's commission, have diligently viewed, and deliberately examined, the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, treated, concluded, and agreed upon, by the reverend Father in God, Richard, by God's Providence late Bishop of London, president of the convocation for the province of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops and clergy in the same province, by his Majesty's license, in their synod, begun at London, Anno Dom. 1603."

It then states that they found that the canons were fit and requisite for the province of York, and that they should be of force in their province, and also be reckoned among their own constitutions and canons. They were accordingly subscribed by all the members; and thus these canons were duly authorized by both convocations†.

Much has been said of the authority of these canons, some persons even asserting that they have no autho-

\* WAKE'S *State*, 507. WILKINS, iv., 426.

† WAKE'S *State*, 508; and *App.* 237, 239.



rity at all; while others, even in the committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, have denied that they were canons of the Church. Lord Coke said long since, that a convocation could only make canons to bind the clergy; but in ecclesiastical matters, some of them even now concern the laity; or how comes it to pass that they are often enforced in our ecclesiastical courts? In the time of Charles II. it was ruled in the King's Bench, that the canons of 1604 were of force, on the ground of the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII., provided they did not impugn the common law or the royal prerogative. The old canon law was part of the law of the land; and by the 25th of Henry VIII., all canons were continued except such as were prejudicial to the prerogative or the laws of the realm. When, therefore, a canon is within the meaning of the act of the 25th Henry VIII., it is still a part of the common law. So when the convocation make canons within the meaning of that statute, canons which properly belong to their cognizance, and they are confirmed by the crown, they are binding as ecclesiastical laws. There is of course a difference between the canons and the rubrics and articles, since the two latter, having been sanctioned by act of parliament, are a part of the statute law of the land. Thus, for instance, in proving wills, and in other similar matters, the canon law is still followed as the common law on the subject. All the canons, therefore, of 1604, which have their foundation in the laws of the land, though not expressly confirmed by any particular act of parliament, are binding on all the queen's subjects as well as the clergy, while others bind ecclesiastics only. The canon law is still in use in our ecclesiastical courts, and obli-



gatory under the restrictions specified in the Act of Submission\*. It may be observed, too, that some of the canons are virtually confirmed by the Act of Uniformity. The *rubrics* in the Book of Common Prayer have parliamentary as well as convocational authority. One of the *rubrics* in the Communion Service directs that the ordinary is to proceed in certain cases according to the canon; and the XXXth is specified in a *rubric* in the *Baptismal* Service as containing the Church's explanation of the use of the sign of the cross. It is, therefore, folly to pretend that the canons of 1604 have no authority, or that they are not canons of the Church.

As great ignorance has been evinced on this subject, even by persons calling themselves members of the Church of England, who are constantly asserting that the canons of 1604 are of no force, it may be well to add some further remarks on the question. It has been asserted by the *editor* of a newspaper that the canons of 1604 were only *conventional rules* among the clergy. Lord Hardwicke stated that they did not bind the laity *proprio vigore*. His authority has often been appealed to by those who wish to disparage the canons, but they only partially quote his words, and thus propagate a false view of the subject. His words are these:—"We are all of opinion that the canons of 1603, not having been confirmed by parliament, do not *proprio vigore* bind the laity: I say *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority; for there are many provisions contained in these canons, which are decla-

\* GIBSON, 974, 995. JOHNSON, 1. *Pref.* xxvii. AYLIFFE's *Pavergon*, Introduction. LESLIE's *Case of the Regale*, 76. BARLOW's *Remains*, 53. BURN's *Ecclesiastical Law*, Preface.

ratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England, received and allowed here, which in that respect, and by virtue of such ancient allowance, will bind the laity." So that, according to Lord Hardwicke, there are some canons by which the laity are bound. Burn, alluding to Lord Hardwicke's decision, remarks, "It is to be inquired how much of those canons is agreeable to the ancient canon law, and how much is added of new by the convocation of 1603; for in the former case the same will be obligatory both upon the clergy and laity, and in the latter case upon the clergy only." Yet Burn remarks, that in the case of proctors and churchwardens, who are laymen, the temporal courts proceed upon a supposition that these canons are in force\*. It is probable that the parties who object to the canons of 1604 would object still more to the old canon law, part of which is still in force as a portion of the law of the land.

The convocation of Canterbury proceeded with the book already mentioned. This was the book published by Sancroft under the following title: "*Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, 1606, concerning the Government of God's Catholic Church, and the Kingdoms of the whole World. London, 1690.*"

The book was drawn up in consequence of the gunpowder treason, and the principles then advocated by many Romanists respecting kings; nor can there be any doubt, that it was intended to be regarded as an exposition of the sense of the Anglican Church on the subjects of which it treats. It consists of three parts, though Wake supposes that the portion given in by the archbishop was only the first part of the printed

\* BURN'S Preface.

book\*. Still the matter is very uncertain; nor is there any positive evidence that the whole book was not submitted to the convocation by the archbishop. After the book had been presented, the king's license to treat of canons was granted; and the document was subsequently sanctioned. These particulars are stated in the advertisement prefixed to the volume in 1690:

"The three following books are published from a copy carefully and faithfully transcribed from the original MS., which was Bishop Overall's, and drawn up by him, after whose decease it came into the possession of Dr. John Cosin, some time his secretary, who bequeathed it to the public library by him founded at Duresm. The first of these three books was also heedfully compared, and in some casual defects supplied from another MS., which, from the attestation of Archbishop Bancroft at the end thereof, seems to have been the original, that then passed the upper house of convocation: and after his decease it came to his successors, the archbishops of Canterbury, and among them, to Archbishop Laud, as appears under his own handwriting in the last page of it. In the first and second of these books, there were several amendments made by the upper house. All placed at the end of Bishop Overall's MS., and according to such amendments, inserted in their proper places, is the following book printed†."

At the end of the *first* book are the following words: "The said thirty-six chapters, with the constitutions made upon them, have passed, with one consent, both the convocation houses, and so are approved.

\* *R. Cant.*"

\* WAKE'S *State*, 618.

† OVERALL'S *Convocation Book*.



The consent of the province of York also follows. "The said thirty-six chapters, with the constitutions made upon them, have been diligently read and deliberately examined: and hereupon have likewise passed, with one consent, in the convocation house of the province of York.

*"Jo. Bristol, Præses Convocat. Elborac."*

The first book, therefore, was sanctioned by the upper and lower houses in the province of Canterbury, and also by the convocation of York. In short, it received the full sanction of the Anglican Church.

At the close of the other books is the following: "*Hæc omnia superscripta ter lecta sunt in domo inferiori convocationis in frequenti synodi cleri, et unanimi consensu comprobata.*

*"Ita testor. Johannes Overall, prolocutor."*

Though sanctioned by the Church, the book possesses no authority, inasmuch as it was not confirmed by his Majesty, who, disliking some of the sentiments, requested that it might not be presented to him for confirmation. Its views, however, may still be regarded as those of the Anglican Church, since they were solemnly confirmed in convocation, and have never been repealed.

There are some very important statements in this volume. The three creeds are affirmed as containing a summary of Christian truth; while the creed of Pope Pius IV. is repudiated. Thus in the second book the following pointed passage occurs: "In which *creeds*, containing the Catholic faith, in those days, or in any of the rest, we have thought it good here to remember, that there is not any one article to warrant or prove



those new articles, which were coined long after the making of any of the said *creeds*, by the bishops of Rome, and are added to the *Nicene Creed*, by Pius IV. in the professing of the Roman faith\*." The *eleventh* chapter of the second book has this title: "That there is no more necessity of one visible head of the Catholic Church than of one visible monarch over all the world†." The chapter is a very important one. The following passages will be read with interest: "It is certain and manifest, that as the Catholic Church is resembled in the Scriptures to an host well ordered, to a human body, to a kingdom, to a flock of sheep, to an house, and to a ship: so Christ only is intended thereby to be her only general, her only head, her only king, her only shepherd, her only householder, her only pilot. Neither can any other thing be inforced from the words mentioned of one faith, and one baptism, but that as we are only justified through a lively faith in Christ, so there is but one baptism ordained, whereby we have our first entrance into his spiritual kingdom, and are made particular members of his Catholic Church‡." The last book comprehends a sketch of the papal usurpations until the power of the pope was fully established. In short, the whole volume is full of interest, and especially at the present time, when the faith of some of the members of our Anglican Church is perverted by Romish sophistry.

This book was the great business of the convocation during the year 1606. Other matters, indeed, were discussed, but nothing else was formally concluded. The convocation was continued by various prorogations

\* OVERALL'S *Convocation Book*, p. 101.

† *Ibid.*, 247.

‡ *Ibid.*, 253.

until February, 1609\*. At this time it was assembled, and Crashaw, a clergyman, was convened before the upper house for the publication of an erroneous book. He was dismissed upon his retraction. In May, 1610, a conference took place between the two houses respecting pluralities and the value of benefices. During the same year, both convocation and parliament were dissolved. In the province of York, the grant of the usual subsidy was the only business transacted during several years†.

We pass on to the year 1614, when the convocation assembled in both provinces on the 6th of April. In Canterbury a charge of blasphemy was preferred against an individual, who, however, was discharged on his recantation. In York nothing was transacted. The convocation and parliament were dissolved the same year‡.

The next meeting of convocation was in the year 1620. In the upper house, in the province of Canterbury, a schedule of persons who had neglected the canons of 1604 was presented; and this was almost the only business. In York nothing, except the subsidy, appears to have been attempted. This convocation was dissolved in February, 1621§.

King James summoned his last parliament to meet in February, 1623, at which time the convocation was also assembled. A curious complaint was made by the College of Physicians to the upper house of Canterbury, respecting some of the clergy, who appear to

\* WAKE'S *State of Church*, 510; *Authority of Christian Princes*, 142; WILKINS, iv., 437.

† WAKE'S *State*, 510.

‡ *Ibid.*, 510; WILKINS, iv., 445.

§ *Ibid.*

of the motion\*. The convocation assembled again in February, 1626; but in neither province was much business of importance transacted. The case of Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, was, indeed, debated. He had asserted the *real presence* in a sermon. In Laud's *Diary* we meet with the following notice under the 29th of March:—"In the convocation held that day there was much debating concerning the sermon which Gabriel Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, had preached before the king on the Sunday preceding, being the fifth Sunday of Lent†." The convocation was dissolved in June, the same year‡.

A.D. 1627.—This year the convocation was assembled, but in neither province did the members enter upon any important business. In the House of Commons many discussions took place on religion, and certain books were censured; but the convocation sat still. It was dissolved the next year. No parliament was summoned between the years 1628 and 1640; consequently, the convocation was not called together for many years§.

A.D. 1640.—This year the parliament met on the 13th of April, and was dissolved on the 5th of May following. The convocation of Canterbury assembled on the 14th of April. Laud proceeded in his barge from Lambeth, and was received by the usual officers at Paul's Wharf, who accompanied him to the north door of St. Paul's church, where he was met by the canons. The service being ended, the usual sermon was preached, after which a hymn was sung by the clergy, who then accom-

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 28, 29; *WAKE'S State*, 513, 514; *FULLER*, xi., p. 108.

† *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 32.

‡ *WAKE'S State*, 514.

§ *WAKE'S State*, 514; *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 52.



panied the archbishop and bishops to the chapter house. The writ of summons was read, and the archbishop recommended the lower house to choose their prolocutor. Stewart, dean of Chichester, was selected for the post; when the convocation was prorogued to the 17th of April, to meet at St. Peter's, Westminster\*.

On the appointed day, April 17th, they met in their second session in Henry VII.'s Chapel. The prolocutor was presented and confirmed in his office by the archbishop and bishops. Fuller, who was present, remarks that "the archbishop of Canterbury entertained them with a Latin speech, well nigh three quarters of an hour, gravely uttered, his eyes oft-times being but one remove from weeping. It consisted most of generals, bemoaning the distempers of the church†." The archbishop produced the king's letters authorizing the convocation to proceed to treat of canons and constitutions. As usual, the Act of Submission was recited in the document, and after the usual form the following words occur:—"and agree upon the exposition or alteration of any canon or canons now in force, and of and upon such other canons, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as they shall think necessary. And further, to confer, debate, treat, consider, consult, and agree of and upon such other points, matters, causes, and things as we from time to time shall deliver, or cause to be delivered to the said lord archbishop of Canterbury." After the reading of this document, the lower house being desired to consider of a subsidy, the convocation was prorogued to the 22nd of April‡.

\* NALSON'S *Collections*, i., 357; HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 397; *Synod. Anglic.*, 13, 14; FULLER, xi., 167; WILKINS, iv., 532.

† B. ix., 168.

‡ NALSON, i., 360, 361; HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 397.



On the 22nd, accordingly, they met in their third session, when, in consequence of the unsettled state of the country, it was agreed that the bishops of London, Lichfield and Coventry, St. Asaph's, Hereford, Bangor, Rochester, and Peterborough, should be excused their attendance in convocation, in order that they might be present in parliament. The archbishop pressed upon the convocation the state of his Majesty's affairs, and both houses agreed to grant six subsidies. It was further intimated to the lower house, that they had agreed upon the heads of two of the canons relating to Jesuits and other Romanists. These were delivered to the prolocutor, with a charge that no member should give copies. Heylin remarks, that Laud, considering that it would redound to his credit if such canons should emanate from himself, recalled the paper, and, after some consideration, returned it to the lower house, who passed it in the same words\*.

They assembled again on the 24th of April, when they were adjourned until the next day. *A form of prayer* for God's blessing on the parliament, which had been composed by Mr. Bray and Mr. Oliver, was presented to the bishops, by whom it was approved and ordered to be used in convocation immediately before the benediction†. While the canon against popery was under review, another for the observation of the day of his Majesty's accession was offered to the lower house; and also one against socinianism, and a fourth against sectaries. It was ordered that none of the members should take private notes of the proceedings.

\* HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 399; COLLIER, ii., 792.

† NALSON, i., 363. *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 100, 101. *Synod. Anglic.*, 23, 27.

Fuller remarks upon this order, "Whereby the particular passages thereof are left at great uncertainty. However, as far as I can remember, I will faithfully relate, being comforted with this consideration, that he is accounted an impartial arbitrator who displeaseth both sides\*."

The parliament was suddenly dissolved on the 5th of May, while the canons just mentioned were under consideration. "Possibly," says Collier, "this ecclesiastical assembly had broken up the next day, according to customary practice, if one of the lower house had not acquainted the archbishop with a precedent of Queen Elizabeth's to encourage them to continue their session†." Heylin also remarks that the convocation was adjourned, "to the great amazement of many of the members of it, who expected to have been dissolved when the parliament was, according to that clause in the commission aforesaid, by which it was restrained to the time of the parliament only‡." It was argued that they might continue until they were dissolved by the king's writ, an argument which satisfied some of the members, though, as Heylin remarks, the commission restrained their sessions to the time of the parliament§.

Some of the members protested against the conti-

\* FULLER, xi., 167. HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 401, 402. COLLIER, ii., 792.

† COLLIER, ii., 792. Fuller, speaking of the dissolution, says, "Whilst the immediate cause hereof is commonly cast on the king and court, the more conscientious look higher and remoter, in the crying sins of our kingdom. And from this very time did God begin to gather the twigs of that rod (a civil war) wherewith soon after he intended to whip a wanton nation." FULLER, xi., 168.

‡ HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 402. *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 101.

§ WAKE'S *State*, 515. FULLER'S *Appeal*, part iii., 33.

nuance after the parliament. According to Fuller, Brownrigg, Hacket, and Holdsworth, and others, to the number of thirty-six, were among the protestors, "thinking it ominous and without precedent, that the one should survive when the other was expired\*." Heylin, however, who, as well as Fuller, was present, states that no protestation was heard by him, and that nothing was reduced to writing. Fuller replies, that such was the case, and he appeals to some of the parties, who were living at the time of his controversy with Heylin. In all probability the persons, of whom Fuller speaks, were fearful of the consequences of such a step†.

That scruples were entertained is certain, and, therefore, Laud acquainted the king with the circumstance, who immediately submitted the case to the judges. Their opinion was contained in the following paper:—

"The convocation being called by the king's writ under the great seal, doth continue until it be dissolved by writ or commission, under the great seal, notwithstanding the parliament be dissolved. 14th May, 1640.

John Finch, C.S.	Robert Heath.
H. Manchester.	Edward Littleton.
John Brampton.	John Banks‡."
Ralph Whitfield.	

This decision was communicated to the convocation on the 13th of May. Fuller says that the *thirty-six* protesting members did not separate themselves, "or

\* FULLER, xi., 168.

† FULLER'S *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, part iii., 35. *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 101.

‡ NALSON, i., 364. *Synod. Anglic.*, 33. HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 403. COLLIER, ii., 792. *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 101.



enter any act *in scriptis*; the rather because they hoped to moderate proceedings by their presence. Thus was an old convocation converted into a new synod; and now their disjoynted meeting being set together again, they betook themselves to consult about new canons." It is clear, therefore, that the objectors contented themselves with their protest, however given\*.

But as the first writ or commission terminated with the parliament, a new one was issued, dated May 12th, 1640, similar to the former, with the exception of a clause repealing the old commission, and continuing the convocation *during pleasure*, instead of *during the present parliament*†. This new commission was produced by the archbishop to the convocation, on the same day with the decision of the judges.

The convocation of York had met on the same day as that of Canterbury; but the king's license to treat of canons was not exhibited until the 5th of May, the day of the dissolution of the parliament. Another license, dated the 20th of May, was therefore sent, by virtue of which they continued to sit‡.

On the 15th of May, the secretary of state, Sir Henry Vane, communicated to the convocation a royal message to this effect: that it had been debated in the privy council whether the convocation should proceed to make canons on the ground of his Majesty's commission, and that it had been decided in the affirmative. He added, that he was sent by his Majesty to exhort them to make such canons as the present exigency

\* FULLER, xi., 169.

† HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 403; COLLIER, ii., 792; FULLER'S *Appeal*, part iii., 34; WAKE'S *State*, 515; *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 101.

‡ WAKE'S *State*, 515.



required\*. The next day the prolocutor presented certain heads of canons agreed upon by the lower house. A benevolence was also voted by both houses. On the 18th of May a letter was read from his Majesty, in which he commanded them to prepare a canon against the growth of popery, and against heretical and schismatical opinions; and further, that they should agree upon an oath to be taken on admission to holy orders†.

In another session certain alterations were made in the canon concerning recusants. The canons concerning the supremacy and Socinians were also considered. They were, at length, agreed upon by the upper, and sent down to the lower house. In another session the canons respecting rites and ceremonies were debated by the bishops, and also those which related to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and the situation of the communion table. During the debate, the Bishop of Gloucester intimated that he should not give his consent to any canons set forth by the present convocation, unless some ancient precedent could be produced‡.

In the twenty-first session the book of Articles for Parochial Visitations was discussed, and committed for examination to the Bishops of Exeter and Oxford. On the 27th of May, in their twenty-third session, the archbishop, after stating his Majesty's acceptance of their benevolence, communicated to the convocation, that the canons agreed upon had been approved by the king and the council unanimously and without hesita-

\* NALSON, i., 365; *Synod. Anglic.*, 34, 35; *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 101.

† NALSON, i., 366, 367; *Synod. Anglic.*, 35, 36, 38.

‡ NALSON, i., 369, 370; *Synod. Anglic.*, 40, 41, 44, 45.

tion. A public notary then presented a schedule of the titles of all the canons, which was confirmed by the archbishop and bishops\*.

The last session took place on the 29th of May. After prayers the canons, seventeen in number, were signed by all the bishops, except Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, and also by all the members of the lower house. Heylin informs us that all the members signed according to seniority, "every man's heart going together with his hand, as it is to be presumed from all men of that holy profession†." Goodman, fearing suspension, at length set his hand to the book. On being asked whether he had signed it *ex animo*, and without mental reservation, he replied that he had subscribed, and that he would give no other answer. Laud told him that he must be a papist, a Socinian, or a sectary. In consequence of his refusal he was suspended; but subsequently he joined the Church of Rome, and died in her communion‡. Laud told the members that "the king was so far from popery that there was no man in England more ready to be a martyr for our religion than his Majesty." The convocation was then dissolved in the usual form§.

Soon after, the canons were published. They were printed by royal authority. It is singular that copies should be so common, for many must have been destroyed, when the wrath of the commons was poured out upon them in the succeeding parliament. The book has the following title: *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical: treated upon by the Archbishops of Can-*

\* NALSON, i., 370, 371; *Synod. Anglic.*, 48, 49.

† HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 418.

‡ NALSON, i., 371, 372.

§ *Ibid.*, i., 373.

terbury and York, Presidents of the Convocations for the respective Provinces of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergie of those Provinces; and agreed upon with the King's Majestie's Licence, in their severall Synods begun at London and York, 1640. London, 1640. They had been sent down to York, after their confirmation in the province of Canterbury, and were approved without any hesitation. "The acts whereof," says Heylin, "being transmitted unto York, were, by the convocation of that province, perused, debated, and approved without any disputing; and so presented to his Majesty, with their names subscribed, according to the ancient custom\*."

Prefixed to the book is the royal license, which states, that, by letters patent, dated the 15th of April, and again on the 12th of May, for the province of Canterbury; and by similar letters, dated the 27th of April and the 20th of May, for the province of York, his Majesty had authorized the convocation to treat of canons and constitutions. It then states that both provinces had met, and agreed upon certain canons, which had been presented to his Majesty, according to the statute of the 25th of Henry VIII.

Some notice of these canons will be necessary in this work. The *first*, "concerning the regal supremacy," asserts the divine right of kings; that the government of the Church belongs to them; that they are to call and dissolve councils; and that subjects are not to bear

\* HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 419. "Soon after," says Fuller, "the same canons were subscribed at York, where the convocation is but the hand of the dial, moving or pointing as directed by the clock of the province of Canterbury." FULLER, xi., 171; WILKINS, ix., 553.



arms against their sovereign. The *second* canon has this title: "For the better keeping of the day of his Majesty's most happy inauguration." In the year 1626 a service had been prepared for the anniversary of the accession; and it was confirmed by the present canon. It recites that the synod, taking into consideration "that there is a particular form of prayer appointed by authority," enacts that all persons should duly observe it by attendance at morning service.

The title of the *third* canon stands thus:—"For suppressing the growth of Popery." It ordains that all the clergy should use all diligence, by private conferences as well as by Church censures. Churchwardens, also, are ordered to present all suspected persons. In short, the whole canon is a most decided refutation of the charge of popery, so often alleged against Archbishop Laud. The charge is still repeated by many modern writers, though destitute of any foundation in fact. The *fourth* is "*against Socinianism*," and is couched in terms to which every Churchman must most readily subscribe. The *fifth* is "*against Sectaries*"—namely, Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, and Familists.

Judging from the effects which were produced, we might conclude that the *sixth*, under this title—"An Oath enjoined for the preventing of all Innovations in Doctrine and Government," was the most important of the whole series. It states that the synod, being anxious to declare their sincerity in the profession of the doctrine and discipline established in the Church, and to secure men against popery and superstition, decree that the oath should be taken by all the clergy. By this oath the individual pledged himself not to bring in



any popish doctrine—not to give his consent to alter the government of the Church “by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c.” Heylin, who was present, informs us that the *oath* was brought into the form, in which it was published, by the lower house of convocation\*.

The *seventh* is “*A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.*” It is declared that the situation of the communion table is a thing indifferent, “neither commanded nor condemned by the word of God:” that by Queen Elizabeth’s *Injunctions* the table should stand where the altar had formerly stood, a custom which had prevailed in the royal chapels and in most cathedrals; and that such shall be its position in all churches. It is added—“We declare that this situation of the holy table doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar whereon Christ is again really sacrificed; but it is, and may be called an altar by us in that sense which the primitive Church called it an altar, and in no other.” It was also ordered that it should be inclosed with rails: that at the words “Draw near,” the communicants should approach to receive the elements “which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the minister:” and that persons on entering the church and on retiring should do *reverence or obeisance*, “not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the communion table, or anything therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture, in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ, in the holy table, or in the mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God’s majesty.”

\* HEYLIN’S *Laud*, 406.

Had the objectors to these canons copied the moderation of the closing words of the canon in question, the scenes by which the subsequent period was disgraced would not have occurred. They are these: "And in the practice or omission of this rite, we desire that the rule of the Apostle may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite despise not them which use it not, and that they who use it not condemn not those that use it." It appears that the moderation gave offence. "Some," says Fuller, "were offended because bowing toward the communion table (now called altar by many) was not only left indifferent, but also caution taken that the observers or the omitters thereof should not mutually censure each other\*." The question concerning the rites and ceremonies enjoined in this canon was considered by a committee of the lower house. When their report was submitted to the house one of the members from the diocese of Bristol presented a canon on the subject, "drawn," says Heylin, "in such a commanding and imperious style that it was disliked by all the company but himself." The Archdeacon of Hants came in after the canon was settled; and in consequence of intemperate language, because the subject could not be reopened, he was ordered to quit the house, but was restored on acknowledgment of his error†.

By the *eighth* canon all the clergy were commanded to preach twice in the year on *conformity*, and to declare that the rites and ceremonies of the Anglican Church were lawful and commendable. The *ninth* related to "One book of Articles of Inquiry to be used at all parochial visitations." It is stated that such a book

\* FULLER, xi., 170.

† HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 407.

was prepared by the synod. The *tenth* is "concerning the conversation of the clergy:" it is in every way most admirable. In the remaining *seven* certain abuses in the ecclesiastical courts are corrected. Then follows the king's ratification, in which he commands that they be executed in both provinces\*.

The canons were the great business of the convocation, though "some other things there were in proportion and design that never ripened into act of execution†." One of these designs was an English *pontifical*, which was to contain the *form* of his Majesty's coronation, to serve for future ages on all similar occasions. Another was a *form* for the consecration of churches and church-yards; and a third for reconciling those who had been under penance, or who had revolted from the faith to Mahometanism. It was proposed that these three services, with the offices for confirmation and ordination, should form a distinct volume. The design was, however, frustrated by the troubles of the times. Exceptions also were taken to the prayer in the 55th canon, and a short prayer was drawn up, containing the heads of that in the canon; "and being so drawn up," says Heylin, "it was to have been tendered by the hands of one of the clergy, who would have undertaken that it should be universally received by all those which dislike the other." Laud, however, fearful of a new experiment, preferred adhering to the canon which was formed on the injunctions of King Edward and Queen Elizabeth‡.

As soon as the canons were published, the loudest clamours were raised. The *sixth* canon, containing the

\* HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 414.

† *Ibid.*

‡ HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 412. COLLIER, ii., 793.



*et cetera* oath, was the most obnoxious. Against this canon the pulpit and the press were engaged. Heylin says that as ecclesiastical offices had been enumerated before, this *et cetera* was inserted in the first draught to avoid the repetition, and for no other reason; and that it was intended to supply the names before it was engrossed. He adds, that the king being weary of supporting the guard, which attended the convocation, sent so many messages to hasten the conclusion, that in the haste the alteration was forgotten\*.

At this distance of time, with all the evidence before us, we cannot suppose that the clause was intended as a snare. In short, the meaning is limited by the words which follow: "As it stands now by law established." All the clamour, therefore, must have arisen from party strife, or from disaffection to the Church.

A few remarks may be added respecting the authority of these canons. The objection derived from the fact of sitting after the dissolution of the parliament is of no force, since the king was at liberty to grant them a new license, which was done in this particular case. Had a second writ not been granted, the proceedings would have been illegal, for, by their first writ, their sitting was limited to the session of parliament. The canons, therefore, having been duly prepared and sanctioned, were undoubtedly binding on the Church. It is thought by some that they still possess synodical authority, and that they were not repealed by the 13th of Charles II. That they may be regarded as the declared sense of the Anglican Church, is clear, since they have not been repealed by any subsequent convocation. At the same time, I cannot but consider that

\* HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 416.



they were repealed by the act of the 13th of Charles II. The clause, in which these canons are mentioned, is as follows:—"Provided always that this act shall not extend to give any power or authority to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, censure, or coercion, which they might not by law have done before the year of our Lord 1639; nor to confirm the canons made in the year 1640, nor any of them, nor any other ecclesiastical laws or canons not formerly confirmed, allowed, or enacted by parliament, or by the established laws of the land, as they stood in the year of our Lord 1639." It is clear, therefore, that the canons are of no force, though they may be viewed as expressing the sense of the Anglican Church\*.

On the 3rd of the ensuing November, a new parliament was summoned. The convocation met, too, and Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, preached at the opening. Dr. Stewart was chosen prolocutor. On adjourning to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, the archbishop addressed them in a strain of sorrow on the sad condition of the nation. One of the members of the lower house moved that they should endeavour, according to the Levitical law, to cover the pit which they had opened, and to prevent the designs of their adversaries by condemning the obnoxious canons. The members, however, were "not willing to condemn themselves till they were accused†." Warminstry, the member who moved the above resolution, printed his speech; but still he was not screened from sequestration at a subsequent period‡.

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 104. CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, i., 380—386.

† HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 431. COLLIER, ii., 796.

‡ HEYLIN'S *Laud*, 432.

This was almost all the business transacted in this convocation; for the further progress was interrupted by the troubles of the times. They continued, indeed, to meet for a time, the bishops till Christmas, the clergy till February, when their meetings altogether ceased\*. "As the upper house was effectually dissolved by the imprisonment of the bishops, so the lower house (knowing themselves incapable to act without the metropolitan and his suffragan brethren) did soon after retire and absent themselves†."

The convocation of York was summoned for the same day, but before its arrival, the archbishop died; so that their meeting was prevented. On the 11th of December a new writ was issued to the guardian of the spiritualities to assemble the convocation on the 4th of January; but the disorders of the country became so great, that they never met. Thus ended the proceedings in convocation in the reign of Charles I‡.

Almost as soon as the parliament assembled, the canons were attacked in the house of commons, who came to a resolution that they contained matters contrary to the prerogative, to the laws of the land, to the rights of parliament, to the liberty of the subject, and that they tended to sedition. They also resolved that the grants of money by the convocation were contrary to law. When the archbishop was impeached, they were attributed to his contrivance. The resolutions of the Commons are most unreasonable. There was nothing in the canons contrary to the laws, as a perusal of them will show; but the members were

\* WAKE'S *State*, 517. FULLER, xi., 172.

† *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 133.

‡ WAKE'S *State*, 517.

determined on their condemnation\*. The next year a fine was imposed by the Commons on the members of this convocation: "I cannot say whether it was levied," remarks Kennet, "but the parties lost all soon after†."

We now pass over a period of twenty years of trouble, during which long space the Anglican Church was under a cloud, the clergy being in prison or in exile, or subjected to burdensome fines, or the total loss of their property. Other assemblies, and not convocations, were now common in England, among which, the assembly of divines at Westminster holds a prominent place. These things, however, being unconnected with my subject, must be passed over, though in themselves of surpassing interest. The period of the civil war, the commonwealth, and the protectorate, affords no materials for the present history.

Before, however, we enter upon the succeeding period, a few words may be added respecting certain alterations in the Liturgy between the year 1604, when King James's Book was published, and the present time. The changes were slight, and made, not by convocation, but by royal authority, if by authority at all. The edition of 1604, the first in King James's reign, I have not examined; but I have inspected several prior to the time of Laud's influence, with others which were published after he became archbishop. I have consulted editions of the following years, 1609, 1615, 1622, 1633, 1636, 1637, 1639, and 1642, with some others. There are certain slight variations between the books

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 103, 104; *WAKE'S State*, 515, 516; *NALSON*, i., 678, 679; *COLLIER*, ii., 796.

† *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 114.



of the reign of James I. and those of Charles I. In some cases the word *priest* is substituted for *minister*; yet there is no evidence to prove that Laud was the author of the changes, or, indeed, that they were made with any design. Dr. Cardwell alludes to this question in his *History of Conferences*; and he agrees that Laud's character is not in any way affected by the charge, since several of the later editions of Charles I. have *minister* in the rubric prefixed to the Absolution. He mentions that the Prayer Books of 1632 and 1633 have *priest*, and that those of 1634 and 1639 have the word *minister*, which he observes are "sufficient evidence, that if the alleged alterations were made clandestinely, the blame cannot reasonably be imputed to Archbishop Laud\*." My experience in this matter goes further than Dr. Cardwell's in justification of Laud. Dr. Cardwell, it appears, has a copy of the book of 1633, with the word *priest* in the Absolution rubric; I have a copy of the same date, *folio*, with the word *minister*. The edition of 1632 I have not examined; but it is clear, from the fact that my copy of 1633 has *minister*, that there was no design in the matter, and it is probable that the word *priest* or *minister* was substituted by the printer at his own discretion.

This circumstance strengthens the evidence in favour of Laud. Dr. Cardwell mentions editions of 1634 and 1639 with the word *minister*: I have a copy of the latter year with the word *priest*. This variation in copies of the same date confirms what I have stated already, that no uniformity was observed in the matter,

\* CARDWELL'S *Conferences*, 237.



and that there could not have been any intention to make changes. In three other copies, of the dates of 1628, 1636, and 1637, the word *minister* occurs. This evidence is conclusive against those who wish to load the memory of Laud with reproach.

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## CHAPTER X.—A.D. 1660—1685.

Restoration. Heylin's Letter. Convocation meets. Occasional Services. Commission to treat of Canons. Adjournment. Book of Common Prayer. The Province of York sends Proxies. Proceedings on the Review of the Book. Review completed. Book subscribed. Sent to the Council—To Lords—To Commons. Canons of 1640 discussed. Prayer Book ordered to be printed. Act of Uniformity. Prorogation. Alterations in Liturgy. Prayer for Parliament. Situation of Communion Table. Services for Certain Days. Book published. Convocation yield the right of Taxing themselves. No other Business during this Reign.

WITH the restoration of the king in 1660, the Church was restored to her former position, the position which she had occupied since the Reformation. The laws, enacted since a certain period, were necessarily void, inasmuch as they had not received the royal assent. When the convention parliament, by whom the king was restored, met, there was no convocation, for things did not fall at once into the regular channel; and even after the next parliament was convened, some little time elapsed before the convocation was summoned, a circumstance not to be wondered at after the troubles of the preceding twenty years. The Savoy conference was sitting at the time, and it is probable that the court wished to await the issue, before the convocation was called together. This conference was limited to the 24th of June, 1661. The convocation was convened on the 8th of May. In all probability it was

hastened by a letter written by Peter Heylin. It is a most able production, and it is supposed, that on the strength of this letter the king summoned the convocation, or at all events, that the arguments employed had considerable influence with those by whom his Majesty was advised\*. "At this time," says Baxter, "was the convocation chosen, for till now it was deferred. Had it been called when the king came in, the inferior clergy would have been against the diocesan and imposing way; but afterwards many hundreds were turned out, that all the old sequestered ministers might come in." This is not honest on Baxter's part. The *old sequestered* ministers *came in* by the restoration of the laws; and *came in* also to livings, of which they had been deprived by a usurping power: consequently none of the illegal possessors could have voted for members of convocation†.

On Wednesday, May 8th, the Bishop of London, with the bishops and clergy, proceeded from the house of Dr. Barwick, in St. Paul's Churchyard, where they had assembled, to St. Paul's Church‡. Te Deum was sung as they entered. A Latin sermon was preached, after prayers, by Dr. Pearce; and then the members proceeded to the chapter-house. The king's writ was read, and also the archbishop's commission to the Bishop of London. Dr. Ferne having been chosen

\* KENNET's *Register*; COLLIER, ii., 886; HEYLIN's *Life*; *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 232, 233; WILKINS, iv., 565—567, 574.

† SYLVESTER's *Baxter*, part iii., 333.

‡ "In his house finding an oratory formerly consecrated to God, but prophaned in the late rebellion, he was at the charge of restoring it to its antient beauty, and constantly performed divine service there, recommending to God the cause of the oppressed Church and king."—BARWICK's *Life*, p. 170. In this oratory the bishops and clergy assembled.

prolocutor, was presented to the upper house on the 16th of May. The upper house began to deliberate respecting *Forms of Prayer* for the 29th of May, and the 30th of January, the drawing up of which was intrusted to two committees, each consisting of four bishops and eight clergymen\*.

At the *third* session, May the 18th, the Bishop of Ely brought up the *Form of Prayer and Thanksgiving for the King's Birth and Return*, for he had made his entrance into London on his birth-day. The Bishop of London also recommended, at the same session, that a *Form* should be prepared for the *Baptism of Adults*. During the preceding twenty years, a generation had grown up who had not been baptized, so that a special *Form* was necessary. It was committed to the care of a committee of bishops, with certain clergymen; and the *Form* for the Restoration was sent down to the lower house. At the next session, May 22nd, the *Form* for the king's restoration was presented to the upper house; and the same day an order of council was issued for printing, reading, and using the said *Form*. This expedition was used, in order that the Service might be ready for the ensuing 29th of May, on which day it was used in all the London churches†.

Heylin, who had been chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and a great sufferer during the troubles, was at this time restored to his preferments, and came to reside in his old dwelling at Westminster. It seems that he had always been fond of making improvements in his

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 233; *Kennet's Register*, 434, 448. *Synod. Anglic.*, App. 67. A list of the names of the members of this convocation may be seen in *Kennet's Register*, 481, 482.

† *Kennet's Register*, 449, 450, 452; *Synod. Anglic.*, 68, 69.



residence, and he now erected a new room for the purpose of entertaining his friends, who resorted to him in considerable numbers. According to Kennet, he was seldom without visitors, "especially the clergy of the convocation, who constantly came to him for his advice, and direction in matters relating to the Church, because he had been himself an ancient clerk in the old convocation\*." Kennet observes, "I happened to be there when the good Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin, came to see him, who, after a great deal of familiar discourse between them, said, 'I wonder, brother Heylin, thou art not a bishop; but we all know thou hast deserved it.' To which he answered, 'Much good may it do the new bishops. I do not envy them, but wish they may do more than I have done.'"

On the 31st of May, being the *seventh* session, the *Form for Adult Baptism* was approved by the upper house. A petition was read from Mr. Ogilby respecting a new edition of the Bible, which he wished the bishops to encourage. In the lower house Dr. Pory introduced a Form of Prayer for the parliament†.

It was ordered also by his Majesty in council, that a commission should be prepared, to authorize the convocation to consult upon matters relative to the settlement of the Church; and it was specially ordered that the following clause or proviso, or any other to the like effect, should not be inserted: "Provided always, that the said canons, orders, ordinances, constitutions, matters and things, or any of them so to be considered, consulted, and agreed upon as aforesaid, be not contrary or repugnant to the Liturgy established, or the rubric

\* KENNET'S *Register*, 450, 451; HEYLIN'S *Life*.

† *Synod. Anglic.*, 70.

in it, or the nine-and-thirty Articles, or any doctrine, order, or ceremonial of the Church of England already established\*." The reason for the omission is obvious. They were to proceed to alter the Book of Common Prayer; consequently the restraining clause was omitted.

At the next session, on the 7th of June, a committee of four bishops and eight members of the lower house was appointed to prepare a *Form of Prayer* for a Public Fast. This step was taken in accordance with a public proclamation, issued the same day, ordering that the 12th of June should be observed in London, and the 19th in other parts of the kingdom. The *form* was used at the time appointed. In the House of Lords, the following curious order was entered on the minutes: "Ordered, that there be a collection for the poor to-morrow morning, and the lords to contribute according to former proportions upon like occasions, viz., thirty shillings for an earl, and twenty shillings for a baron: and such lords as are absent from prayers this day, are to pay their forfeitures to-morrow†."

The royal commission, authorizing the convocation to settle the affairs of the Church, was exhibited in the upper house at this session. The convocation was permitted to amend, reform, explain, and correct, the constitutions and canons already made, and to make and ordain new canons and orders for the benefit of the Church and true religion. The president then ordered the lower house to be summoned, when they were directed to proceed in the business according to the terms of the commission‡. As the archbishop was

\* KENNET's Register, 455, 456.

† *Ibid.*, 470.

‡ Synod. Anglic., 71, 72. KENNET's Register, 468.

prevented from attendance by his increasing infirmities, the royal commission, appointing certain bishops to act in his absence, was renewed. Some days after, the president informed the house, that, as there had been some defect in the former license, he had obtained from his Majesty a more effectual one, by virtue of which, a committee of twelve bishops and twenty-four clergymen was appointed to examine the canons already made\*. It appears that the Archbishop of York and two of his suffragans were present in the upper house, on the 21st of June, on which occasion certain bishops were appointed to prepare *Articles for Visitations*, and the bishops of the province of York, together with certain members of the lower house, were requested to assist†.

Some of the bishops of the province of York were present at another session shortly after, when the question of the Liberty of the Press was discussed‡. Certain canons were brought under consideration on the 19th of July, in the upper house, after which they were committed to the Bishop of Sarum. At several subsequent sessions they were also presented, read, and corrected§.

On the 23rd of July, a commission, similar to that which had been granted to the convocation of Canterbury, was sent to the province of York, by which the convocation was empowered to treat of matters concerning religion and the Church||.

A *Benevolence* to his Majesty was voted in the twenty-

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 233. † *Synod. Anglic.*, 76, 77.

‡ *Synod. Anglic.*, 78.

§ *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 234. *Synod. Anglic.*, 80, 81.

|| *KENNET'S Register*, 503.



third session: and on the 31st of July, the convocation was adjourned until the 21st of November\*.

On the 21st of November, accordingly, the convocation met, when the king's letters were read. The upper house proceeded to deliberate respecting a revision of the Book of Common Prayer: and a committee, consisting of the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Oxford, Rochester, Sarum, Worcester, Lincoln, and Gloucester, was appointed to meet in the palace of the Bishop of Ely, and to sit daily, Sundays excepted, until the work should be completed†.

On the 22nd of November, the Royal Letters were issued to the province of York, authorizing the convocation to review, or cause a review to be made, of the Book of Common Prayer. The letter alludes to the commission dated the 10th of the preceding June, by which they were authorized to treat of matters concerning the Church: and then, in accordance with that commission, it proceeds, "We do hereby authorize and require, that you review, or cause a review to be had and taken, both of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and of the Book of the *Form and manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*: and after mature consideration, that you make such additions or alterations in the said books respectively, as to you shall seem meet and convenient."

It was considered, that as his Majesty required them to proceed with all possible expedition, it would be better to send proxies to London to sit in the convocation of Canterbury, than to consume time by sending and receiving communications in the way of mutual correspondence, which had been the practice on some

\* KENNET'S Register, 512. † Synod. Anglic., 83, 84.



former occasions. Accordingly the Archbishop of York and his suffragans, being then in London, addressed a letter to Dr. Neile, the prolocutor, and to the clergy of the province, in which they mention, that they sit in the convocation of Canterbury, and that as the time is short, and the method of sending communications is so *dilatory*, the clergy should pass a vote for proxies to act in behalf of the lower house. They request that an answer, containing the names, may be sent by the next post. Several clergymen were, therefore, commissioned to sit and act on behalf of the convocation of York\*.

- \* Matters being thus arranged between the two provinces, the business proceeded with rapidity. On the 22nd of November, before the matter had been even communicated to York, some progress was made: and on the following day, one part of the book revised by the bishops was committed to the lower house to be reviewed. The bishops proceeded with the rest of the book in several sessions†.

In prosecuting this important work, the convocation was assisted by the learned labours of several individuals, who had paid particular attention to the subject. These were, *first*, MS. notes in an interleaved Common Prayer Book, supposed to have been copied from the collections of Bishop Overall: *secondly*, MS. notes in another Common Prayer Book, collected by Bishop Cosin: *thirdly*, MS. notes by Bishop Cosin, in his own hand: and *fourthly*, MS. notes by Bishop Andrews. Though not certain, yet it is highly probable, that these

\* WAKE'S *State, App.*, 239, 240. KENNET'S *Register*, 564, 565, 566. COLLIER, ii., 887.

† KENNET'S *Register*, 566. *Synod. Anglic.*, 84, 85, 86.

works were used by the convocation in the revision of the Book of Common Prayer\*.

On the 27th of November, the prolocutor returned the *first* portion of the book, with certain alterations which were submitted to the bishops: after which the remainder of the book was delivered to the prolocutor, with a request that it should be proceeded with and returned without delay†. On the 28th, the table of alterations made by the lower house was brought under consideration in the upper house: and on the day following some progress was made in the revision of the book for the *Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*. On the 2nd of December, the *Preface*, commencing with the words, "*It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England,*" was publicly read and committed to the examination of some of the bishops. On the 5th of December, Mr. Pell, who had been assisted by Sancroft, submitted the *Calendar*, revised and altered, to the upper house: this also was entrusted to certain bishops for examination and revision. In this same session also some discussion took place on the *Form of Prayer to be used at sea*‡. On the 6th, the *preface* to the Common Prayer was again exhibited. This *preface* is supposed to have been drawn up by Sanderson. On the 9th, certain corrections in the service for the *Burial of the Dead at Sea*, and others in the *Communion Service* and that for the *Churching of Women*, were read and considered. The bishops also unanimously agreed, that one *form of prayer* should be used before and after sermons by all clergymen. This order, however, was not carried into effect. Kennet says, that the subject

\* KENNET'S *Register*, 566.

† *Synod. Anglic.*, 87.

‡ *Ibid.*, 88.

of the prayer before sermon was "afterwards dropped upon prudential reasons\*."

On the 10th of December, certain alterations in the *Communion Service* were read, after which they were entrusted to the consideration of the lower house: and on the 12th, the prolocutor solicited a conference with the bishops, at which certain papers of amendments in the Book of Common Prayer were read and approved. The next day some members of both houses were nominated for the examination and final revision of the Liturgy. A *form of General Thanksgiving* was prepared and presented by the Bishop of Norwich, on the 14th of December. It is frequently stated, that the general thanksgiving was composed by Sanderson: but it is clear from the proceedings of the upper house that it was prepared by Bishop Reynoldst.

On the 19th of December, the Book of Common Prayer being revised, the *form* of subscription was taken into consideration. It was committed to the management of two members of each house. On the 20th, the book was received, approved, and subscribed, by the members of both houses: so that the space occupied in the review was one month. The following passage will show how rapidly the convocation proceeded. "And yet through haste and inadvertence, there were some escapes and omissions in the book sent from the convocation to the Lords. Archbishop Tennison told me by his bed-side on Monday, February 12, 1710, that the convocation book intended to be the copy confirmed by the Act of Uniformity had a rash blunder in the *rubric after Baptism*, which should have run, *It is certain by*

\* KENNET's Register, 576; Synod. Anglic., 90, 91.

† Ibid., 91, 92, 93; KENNET's Register, 573.



*God's word, that children which are baptized dying before they commit actual sin are undoubtedly saved.* But the words *which are baptized* were left out, till Sir Cyril Wyche coming to see the Lord Chancellor Hyde, found the book brought home by his lordship and lying in his parlour window, even after it had passed the two houses, and happening to cast his eye upon that place, told the lord chancellor of that gross omission, who supplied it with his own hand\*." The following is the form of approbation and subscription.

- "*Forma approbationis et subscriptionis factæ in utraque domo convocationis prælatorum et cleri provincie Cantuariensis in appendice Libri Communium Precum recogniti.*

- "*Librum Precum Publicarum, administrationis sacramentorum, aliorumque rituum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, una cum forma et modo ordinandi et consecrandi episcopos, presbyteros, et diaconos, juxta literas regie majestatis nobis in hac parte directas revisum, et quingentas quadraginta et quatuor paginas continentem, nos Gulielmus Providentia Divina Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ primas, et metropolitanus: et nos episcopi ejusdem provincie, et in sacra provinciali synodo legitime congregati, unanimi assensu et consensu in hanc formam redegimus, recepimus et approbavimus, eidemque subscripsimus vicesimo die mensis Decembris, anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo sexagesimo primo.*"

The signatures of the bishops are appended. The following *form* was used by the lower house.

"Nos etiam universus clerus inferioris domus ejusdem provincie synodice congregati dicto libro publicarum precum, sacramentorum et rituum, una cum forma

\* KENNET'S *Register*, 643.



et modo ordinandi et consecrandi episcopos, presbyteros, et diaconos unanimiter consensimus et subscripsimus die et anno prædictis."

The signatures of the members of the lower house, amounting in number to *eighty-six*, follow. The archbishop and bishops of the province of York, also subscribed to a similar form: and so did the proctors for the clergy of that province. Thus was the Book of Common Prayer sanctioned by the convocation of both provinces\*.

When the book had been thus sanctioned by convocation, the subject was taken up by parliament. On the 14th of January, a Bill for Uniformity was read a first time in the Lords: and on the 29th of January, the question was discussed in the upper house of convocation†. The book, when revised and reviewed by the convocation, was presented to his Majesty: and on the 19th of February, it was ordered, that the *amendments* should be considered in the privy council, and that four of the bishops should be present‡. This was a preparatory step to sending the book to the House of Lords. On the 24th the council met in obedience to the order, the bishops also attending; when the book was read and approved, and ordered to be sent to the Peers. On the 12th of February some impatience was manifested because the book had not been sent; when the Bishop of London stated that it would soon be submitted to their notice§. On the 13th of March, the Earl of Bridgewater reported to the Lords, that the committee had considered the bill concerning uniformity, in which certain alterations had been made by the Commons,

\* KENNET'S *Register*, 584, 585; *Synod. Anglic.*, 94—96.

† *Synod. Anglic.*, 98.

‡ KENNET'S *Register*, 631.

§ *Ibid.*, 627, 632.

which were now submitted to the house. It was moved also, that the alterations and additions in the Book of Common Prayer, as it came recommended from his Majesty, should be read before the alterations in the bill. Some time was occupied in considering these alterations: and on the 14th, when they had finished their task, the lord chancellor, in the name of the house, thanked the bishops for their care in this important business, and desired their lordships to convey the thanks of the Peers to the lower house of convocation. It was then ordered, that the alterations and amendments in the Bill for Uniformity should be taken into consideration on the Monday following\*.

The Book of Common Prayer, therefore, was sent to the Commons, by the Lords, just as it had been received from convocation†. The alterations were indeed discussed, but no changes were made. It will be seen that the Bill for Uniformity had been discussed in the Commons before they received the book from the Lords. A copy of the Book of Common Prayer had been sent to the Commons with the bill: but the house made their alterations refer, not to this copy, but to the book revised by convocation and recommended by the king to the House of Lords: and on the 17th of March it was carried in the Peers, that the said book should be the book to which the bill should refer‡. The book had been returned with the bill; but the Lords very reasonably resolved to follow the book from the convocation. This is also fixed by the Act of Uniformity, which appoints that the book, as reviewed

\* KENNET'S *Register*, 642, 643.

† WARNER, ii., 606.

‡ KENNET'S *Register*, 643; GIBSON'S *Codex*, 314.

by convocation, "*be the book which shall be appointed to be used.*"

On the 18th of March, the president informed the convocation that the lord chancellor had desired the bishops to thank them in the name of the peers\*.

Various other matters were discussed in convocation, which it may be desirable to specify in their order, before we proceed to the conclusion of the proceedings respecting the Prayer Book. On the 8th of January the upper house took the canons of 1640 into consideration, with a view to their revival; and on the 17th the revision was committed to a committee of bishops†. On the 18th Dr. Barwick was chosen prolocutor of the lower house in the room of Dr. Ferne, who had been promoted to the see of Chester. Some discussion also took place at this time, in the upper house, respecting Roman catholic priests‡. The question of the canons, and of the articles for visitation, was frequently discussed; but no decision appears to have been arrived at. On the 8th of March a new impression of the Book of Common Prayer was ordered to be printed; and, after some debate, Dr. Sancroft was appointed to superintend the whole, and Mr. Scatertgood and Mr. Dellingham to correct the press§.

On the 22nd of March, a *Form for the Consecration of Churches* was discussed by the bishops, but without any result. The Bill for Uniformity passed the House of Lords on the 9th of April. Some alterations were made, to which the concurrence of the Commons was requested. These alterations were considered in the Commons on the 12th of April. On the same day the

\* *Synod. Anglic.*, 106.

† *Ibid.*, 96, 97, 98.

‡ *Synod. Anglic.* 101, 102.

§ *Ibid.*, 104, 105.



question relative to the printing of the Book of Common Prayer was considered in convocation, and the bishops undertook to transmit it, when published, to the parishes in their respective dioceses\*. On the 21st, the bishops engaged to see that the Book of Common Prayer should be printed by the 24th day of the ensuing August. A *proviso*, for being uncovered and for using reverent gestures in divine service, was taken into consideration by the Commons, on the 28th, in their debate on the Lords' amendments to the Bill for Uniformity; but it was resolved that the question was more suited to the convocation, and it was ordered that the managers for the Commons should intimate to the Lords their desire that the matter should be submitted to that assembly. The Commons also inserted an amendment for the preservation of the Book of Common Prayer, by having it recorded in the Tower, in the Courts at Westminster, and in cathedral churches. The amendments made by the Commons in the bill were agreed to by the Lords on the 8th of May. A curious mistake was discovered by the House of Commons in one of the *rubrics* in the *Baptismal Service*, *persons* being inserted instead of *children*, which was mentioned at a conference between the two houses. Three of the bishops, therefore, acquainted the house, that it was a mistake of the scribe's, and that they had authority from the convocation to correct it. Accordingly they made the correction at the clerk's table†. At the same time, in accordance with the request of the Commons, the bishops and the other members of con-

\* *Synod. Anglic.*, 109.

† KENNET'S *Register*, 680; *Synod. Anglic.*, 109, 110; *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 241.



vocation were desired to prepare a canon on the gestures to be used in the time of divine service. The subject was discussed on the 10th, in the upper house, when it was decided, that the canon of 1604, under the title of *Solemn Reverence during the Celebration of Divine Service*, should be considered by the lower house; and on the 12th of May the said canon, being the *eighteenth* of those of 1604, was approved and confirmed\*.

It was resolved also by convocation, that ordinations should take place only in the Ember weeks. The translation of the Book of Common Prayer into Latin was entrusted to Dr. Earle and Dr. Pearson.

On the 20th of May his Majesty's writ for the prorogation of the convocation was read; after which it was prorogued until the 19th of February ensuing†.

The great business of the convocation was, therefore, the revision of the Liturgy, which was appointed to be publicly used on the 24th of August. The canons were not concluded, though the convocation had been authorized to treat of them; and it appears that some powerful influence was used to prevent the two houses from proceeding with that important business. "Who they were," says Kennet, "that prevented us laying hold of an opportunity of doing the Church that service, it is not lawful to conjecture, where the case is invidious, and perhaps not sufficiently known." He adds, "The endeavours of many were wholly frustrated by one or two, on whom this matter chiefly depended‡."

It has been seen, that all the corrections in the

\* KENNET'S Register, 671, 680; Synod. Anglic., 112.

† Synod. Anglic., 113; KENNET'S Register, 696.

‡ KENNET'S Register, 630.

Liturgy were made by the convocation, the two houses of parliament not venturing on any alterations, but merely confirming the book. To specify all the alterations would occupy too large a space; I shall therefore mention only the more important. Sanderson appears to have composed some of the *new collects*, and he was probably concerned in the additional services; while Sancroft was engaged on the *rubrics* and the *calendar*. The *preface*, as has been mentioned, was Sanderson's. It contains the reasons for the alterations which were made, and it forms a part of the book\*.

The *Prayer for the Parliament* was now introduced into the Liturgy. It has formed a fruitful topic for animadversion to dissenters from that time to the present; and it has been declared, that the words "*most religious and gracious king*" were introduced as a compliment to Charles II. Like many other assertions, it has no foundation to rest upon. The prayer had been in use for years, though it had not been incorporated in the Liturgy. It was first used in an occasional *form* in the year 1625; and in this prayer the words are found. I have now before me a collection of *occasional forms*, from the commencement of the reign of James I. to the period of the civil wars: the *form* for 1625 is one of the number. In two others, in the same collection, for the years 1628 and 1640, the prayer also occurs. There are others between the above dates in which it is not found; but the omission is easily explained. These *forms* were published for particular occasions, to be used only once or twice; consequently, if the parliament were assembled at the time, the prayer was inserted; but if otherwise, it was omitted. In 1661

\* KENNET'S *Register*, 632, 633.

the prayer was inserted in a special *form*, and was afterwards placed in the Book of Common Prayer. Such is the history of this prayer, respecting which so many misrepresentations have been circulated.

It will be remembered, that in the canons of 1640, the communion table was ordered to be placed at the east end of the chancel, close to the wall, and within rails, at which the communicants were to receive the elements. Previous to the Reformation, the altar stood near the wall at the east end of the chancel. Tables were substituted at the Reformation; and by King Edward's second book they were appointed to stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel. The custom was, therefore, to remove the table, at the time of communion, into the most convenient part of the church. By Queen Elizabeth's *Injunctions*, A.D. 1559, it was ordered to be placed where the altar had stood, except at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, when it was to be removed into the most convenient part of the chancel. Laud, and several of the bishops, wished to reduce all churches to one uniform mode; and in many places the table was placed at the east end and inclosed with rails. The charge of popery was alleged against the archbishop on the ground of this practice, and the most violent denunciations were uttered. At the Restoration the rubric was not altered; so that, both by *rubrical* and *canonical* authority, the table may be placed in the body of the church or in the chancel. From the Restoration, however, it has been the practice to place it near the wall at the east end of the chancel, and to inclose it with rails. The matter was viewed as indifferent, and consequently was left undecided; and the most complete uniformity has been the result; nor



does any man imagine that its position involves the charge of popery. How soon after the Restoration the practice became uniform, it is not possible to ascertain. In one village church, however, the table was found in the middle of the chancel, and without the railing, only thirty years ago; and probably other instances may have occurred at the same period. But it may now be concluded, that there is not a single parish church of ancient date in the whole kingdom, in which the table is not placed at the upper end of the chancel. It is well remarked by a learned writer, in allusion to the place assigned by the canon, "So that out of communion time the table is to stand *altar-wise*, as we, and only we, do phrase it; for altar-wise is an idiom peculiar to us English, not known abroad in foreign parts; and they who can find popery in that position have better eyes than ordinary. Altars, with them, do not observe one regular position: some are placed in the middle of the choir; some at the upper part, endways north and south; and, if eye-witnesses may be trusted, the chief altar in St. Peter's church, at Rome, stands in the middle of the chancel\*."

The epistles and gospels were taken from the authorized translation; the word *priest* substituted in the *rubric* of the *Absolution* for *minister*; the *Prayers for the Ember Weeks*, the *General Thanksgiving*, and some new *Collects* were adopted. In the *Communion Service*, too, changes were made; and the service for the *Baptism of those of Riper Years*, and the *Form of Prayer to be used at Sea*, were introduced, with the closing prayers in the *Visitation of the Sick*. All the services were, indeed, more or less altered, as any one, who compares

\* LE STRANGE'S *Alliance*, 166.



our present book with those in use before the Restoration, may ascertain. The words "bishops, priests, and deacons" were substituted in the *Litany* for "bishops, pastors, and ministers of the church;" and the words "rebellion" and "schism" were added to the petition respecting "sedition and privy conspiracy\*." Offices for the *Fifth of November*, the *Thirtieth of January*, and the *Twenty-ninth of May*, were sanctioned by convocation; but, as they were not in the book which was sent to the Parliament, they were not confirmed by the civil authority. The service for the *Fifth of November* was prepared in 1606, and was only revised by convocation. The others were new. They were annexed to the Book of Common Prayer by royal authority†.

The Book of Common Prayer was published before the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662. Copies of the first edition are by no means uncommon; but another was published during the same year, in a smaller type, which is perhaps less common than the preceding. At all events, I have seen the one more frequently than the other. I have never seen more than two copies of the smaller book, one of which I possess.

\* KENNET's *Register*, 585, 586; BURNET, i., 265—270; CARDWELL's *Conferences*, 369—391.

† These services were changed in a subsequent reign, as will be shown in the proper place. The 5th of November was ordered to be observed by Act of Parliament, in the 3rd of James I.; and a service was provided the year after the discovery of the treason, which was authorized by the king. The 30th of January and the 29th of May were also ordered to be observed by Act of Parliament; and the convocation, in 1661, having revised and confirmed the service for the 5th of November, prepared two special services for those two days, which were annexed to the book by royal authority, according to a form still used at the accession of a new sovereign.

This convocation was continued from time to time, until the year 1678, when it was dissolved with the parliament; but very little was transacted in either province after the revision of the Liturgy. They met in 1663, and treated of a Grammar to be used in schools, and also of a *Form for the Consecration of Churches and Church-yards*; yet nothing was concluded\*.

The next year they again assembled. On the 20th of April, 1664, the question of the Grammar was resumed; and on the 18th of May the care of a Latin translation of the Book of Common Prayer was intrusted to the Bishop of Sarum and the Dean of Westminster. No business was transacted in the province of York. In the year 1667, we find the convocation of Canterbury petitioning the king to grant to Dr. Dupont the privilege of printing his Greek Translation of the Psalms for seven years†.

In the year 1664, however, a most important change was effected with respect to the clergy and the convocation. Hitherto they had taxed themselves in their synod, their proceedings being subsequently confirmed by parliament. It was, therefore, necessary for the Crown to assemble the synod, in order to obtain the usual subsidies. Now, however, by an arrangement between Archbishop Sheldon and the Lord-Chancellor Hyde, the clergy silently waived the privilege of taxing themselves, and submitted to be included in the money bills of the House of Commons. It was arranged that their ancient privileges should be preserved; and a clause was inserted to that effect

\* *Synod. Anglic.*, 113—122; WAKE'S *State*, 518.

† *Synod Anglic.*, 125, 126; WAKE'S *State*, 518.

in the bill passed on this occasion: "Provided always, that nothing herein contained shall be drawn into example to the prejudice of the ancient rights belonging unto the lords spiritual and temporal, or clergy of this realm." This Act, from which the clause is quoted, was called "*An Act for granting a Royal Aid unto the King's Majesty*;" and it was the first in which the clergy were included. "Whether this great change," says Kennet, "be more to the interest or prejudice of the Church and clergy in England, is not so easy to determine\*."

Since this period the convocation has not been often permitted to transact business. Were the clergy still to tax themselves, they must be allowed to assemble; and when assembled, they might insist on grievances before granting subsidies; and then the Crown would be necessitated to permit them to take the affairs of the Church into consideration. "Being in no condition," Collier remarks, "to give subsidies and present to the Crown, 'tis well if their convocation meetings are not sometimes discontinued, if they do not sink in their insignificancy, lie by for want of a royal license, and grow less regarded when their grievances are offered†." Collier's prediction has been verified.

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 255; COLLIER, ii., 893; KENNET'S *Synods*, 299—301. According to the note of Mr. Speaker Onslow, the matter was first settled by a verbal agreement between Sheldon and Clarendon, and tacitly agreed to by the clergy. Onslow says, "Gibson, bishop of London, said to me, that this was the greatest alteration in the constitution ever made without an express law." HALLAM'S *Const. Hist.*, ii., 596; GIBSON'S *Codex*, 984; JOHNSON'S *Vade Mecum*, i., 161, 162. See also *A Discourse concerning the Ecclesiastical Commission*, 4to., 1689, 27, 28.

† COLLIER, ii., 893.

The Long Parliament was dissolved in 1678, and a new parliament and convocation were summoned the same year. Nothing, however, of the slightest degree of importance was transacted in either province. A new convocation met in 1680, but no business was entered upon. This was the last convocation of the reign of Charles II\*.

\* WAKE's *State*, 519; COLLIER, ii., 898.

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## CHAPTER XI. A.D. 1685—1701.

JAMES II. State Services. King William. Ecclesiastical Commission. Proposed Changes in the Liturgy. Convocation. Divisions. Address to the King. Convocation dissolved. State Services altered. The proposed Changes in the Liturgy considered. Overall's Convocation Book and Sherlock. Controversy respecting the Commission. Works on both sides. Controversy respecting the powers of Convocation. Letter to a Convocation Man. Works by Wake, Hill, Atterbury. Convocation meets, 1700. Its Proceedings. Toland's Book. Discussions. Counsel consulted. Prorogation. Lower House continue to sit. Convocation meets again. Discussions. Burnet's Work on the Articles attacked in the Lower House. Disputes continued. Decision of the Bishops respecting Burnet's Book. Convocation dissolved. Works on the Convocation Controversy.

JAMES II. succeeded to the throne in 1685. On the 20th of May the convocation of Canterbury assembled: a sermon was preached, and the lower house were ordered to choose their prolocutor. Still no proceedings were commenced, and it does not appear that the convocation of York even assembled\*. Eventful, therefore, as was this short reign, it presents but little to our notice respecting the convocation. James did not permit them to transact business, since he knew that his measures would have been censured by that body. The only matter connected with the subject of this volume, during this reign is the alteration in the *Services* for the 30th of January and the 29th of May. The alterations

\* WAKE's *State*, 519; WILKINS's *Concilia*, iv., 612.

were made by the bishops, by authority of the crown, neither the convocation nor the parliament being consulted.

Dr. D'Oyly remarks, in allusion to Burnet's observation that these services were altered by Sancroft, who adopted a loftier strain, that the service for the 30th of January has remained almost unaltered. "It stands now," says he, "with very immaterial exceptions, precisely in the same form as it did at first\*." But what is the fact? The alterations, whether made by Sancroft or others, are quite sufficient to justify the remark of Burnet, that the tone subsequent to the reign of Charles II. was altered. The remarks of Burn are different from those of Dr. D'Oyly: "The form of prayer for this solemnity, and also for that of the 29th of May, were of a different complexion in the reign of King Charles II. from what they are now. The offices for these two solemnities were drawn up without any reflection on the first authors of the opposition. King James II. altered these forms, and King William did not venture to reduce them to their primitive state†."

In the service for the 30th of January, indeed, the changes were few, but important; in that for the 29th of May they were more numerous. The service for the 29th of May, in its original state, was suited to the restoration of the royal family, and to the birth of the king: so that some alteration was necessary on the accession of a new sovereign, inasmuch as his birth could not be alluded to in the office. The various alterations may be seen by a comparison of the present services with those in the books in use previous to the

\* D'OYLY'S *Sancroft*, i., 116.

† BURN'S *Eccles. Law*.

death of Charles II. King James prefixed a notice to the new office for the 29th of May to this effect, that as several parts of the former service related to his brother's birth, it became necessary to alter it, and that it was altered accordingly\*. Besides the changes in these two services, King James commanded the bishops to prepare an office to be used on the day of his accession. A service had been published in the time of Charles I., which was now revised and considerably altered, and published by royal authority. The service was originally prepared in 1626; then, in 1640, it was sanctioned by convocation. On the accession of Charles II. much of the service was used on the 29th of May; but when King James ordered the bishops to prepare another service for his accession, the old Form was revised and used during his reign.

Such were the changes effected by King James, which, though not sanctioned by convocation, demanded some notice†.

\* The order is as follows:—"The form of prayer with thanksgiving heretofore appointed for the 29th of May, relating in several passages of it to the birth and person of our most dearly beloved brother King Charles II., and so upon occasion of his death being necessarily to be altered; and it being now, by our special command to the bishops, so altered and settled to our satisfaction, as a perpetual office of thanksgiving for the standing mercies of that day, our express will and pleasure is, that it be forthwith printed and published as here it followeth, to be used henceforth upon every 29th day of May, in all churches and chapels within our kingdom and dominion of Wales in such manner as is therein directed." It is dated the 29th of April, 1685.

† The alterations made in the service for the 5th of November subsequent to the Revolution will be noticed at the proper time, and so will those in the Accession service in the reign of Queen Anne. King James did not alter the service for the 5th of November.—GIBSON'S *Codex*, 279.



We now proceed to the succeeding reign. With the convention parliament by whom William and Mary were seated on the throne, the convocation did not assemble. The second parliament, however, in the *first* year of their Majesties' reign, petitioned the throne to summon the convocation. Many there were, especially the dissenters, who wished to settle all matters in Parliament; but the House of Commons were of opinion that the convocation was the proper place for the consideration of ecclesiastical affairs.

Before, however, the convocation was convened, a preparatory step was taken—namely, the appointment of a commission under the great seal to draw up and prepare matters for the consideration of the synod. On the 24th of May, 1689, the "*Act for exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of England from the Penalties of certain Laws*," called the *Act of Toleration*, received the royal assent. Still, many dissenters wished for a comprehension with the Church. A bill on the subject had passed the House of Lords; but on its reaching the Commons, they considered that the question was more suitable for a convocation. The Lords, therefore, concurred in an address to the throne to that effect. To prepare the way, the royal commission was issued, authorizing certain individuals to meet and prepare alterations in the Liturgy and canons, and to consider other matters connected with the Church. It was dated in September, 1689\*.

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 551. The following are the names of the commissioners:—Lamplugh, Compton, Mew, Lloyd, Sprat, Smith, Trelawny, Burnet, Humphreys, Stratford, all bishops at the time: also, Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, Sharp, Hall, Beyeridge, Tennison, Fowler, Grove, and Williams, who were subsequently raised to the episcopal bench. Others



The commissioners frequently met, but some of the members, who were named, absented themselves, especially Dr. Jane, the regius professor of divinity in Oxford, on the ground that alterations were not required, and that the present was not the season for such discussions. The majority, however, proceeded in the work. The point of greatest difficulty was that of *re-ordination*; but it was at last settled by the commissioners that the hypothetical *form* should be adopted in the case of the dissenters as in the case of uncertain baptism, in these words:—"If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee." This would have satisfied many of the nonconformists\*. Burnet says, "We had before us all the books and papers that they had at any time offered, setting forth their demands; together with many advices and propositions which had been made at several times by most of the best and most learned of our divines, of which the late most learned Bishop of Worcester had a great collection: so we prepared a scheme to be laid before the convocation, but did not think that we ourselves, much less that any other person, was any way limited or bound to comply with what we resolved to propose†."

Much information was communicated on this subject at a later period, in the speeches in the House of Lords

were associated with them, as Meggot, Kidder, Aldridge, Jane, Beaumont, Montague, Goodman, Battely, Alston, Scott.

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 551, 552. Tillotson, Burnet, Tennison, and all the men of that school, were willing to waive the question of Presbyterian orders by adopting this proposal. In such a case nonconformist ministers would have been admitted in the manner adopted by the ancient Church, in the case of those who had been ordained by heretics. NICHOLS, 119.

† BURNET, iv., 44; *Comp. Hist.*, 552.

on the trial of Sacheverel. Wake, then bishop of Lincoln, in replying to the Doctor on the point of the comprehension, says, "He who first concerted the comprehension, was the late Archbishop Sancroft, towards the end of King James's reign, when we were in the height of our labours defending the Church against popery." He adds, "The several parts of the scheme were, by the direction of the archbishop, committed to such divines as were thought most proper; he took one part to himself; another was committed to Dr. Patrick; the reviewing the Liturgy and Communion Book was referred to a select number, two of whom are now on our bench, viz., the Archbishop of York and Bishop of Ely, who will witness the truth of my relation." He further remarks, "As soon as their late Majesties came to the throne, they openly espoused the design; a commission was issued under the great seal to a large number of bishops and other eminent divines, to meet and consider these matters\*."

The government, however, saw that there was no hope of success with any alterations in the Lower House of Convocation; consequently, the subject was never introduced. Still a notice of the proposed changes is necessary, in order that the views of the government may be ascertained. They were the following:—

Chanting to be discontinued.

Certain select Psalms to be read on Sundays; but the daily course not to be altered.

The omission of the Apocryphal Lessons, and of some from the Old Testament.

A rubric on the usefulness of the sign of the cross in

\* *History of the Affair of Dr. Sacheverel*, 268—271.

baptism. The use of it to be omitted altogether when desired.

The sacramental elements to be administered in pews, to those who might object to kneeling.

A rubric declaring that Lent fasts consisted in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in distinctions of meats; and another to explain the meaning of the Ember weeks.

The rubric enjoining the daily reading or hearing of common Prayer on the clergy to be changed into an exhortation.

The *Absolution* to be read by deacons; the word *minister* being substituted for *priest*; and the words "remission of sins" omitted as not very intelligible.

The *Gloria Patri* not to be repeated at the end of every psalm.

In the *Te Deum*, the words *only begotten Son*, substituted for *thine honourable, true, and only Son*.

The 128th Psalm to be substituted for the *Benedicite*; and other psalms for the *Benedictus* and *Nunc Dimittis*.

The versicles after the Lord's Prayer to be read kneeling; and after the words "Give Peace, &c.," an answer promissory, on the part of the people, of keeping God's law, the old response being supposed by the commissioners to savour of too strong a view of predestination.

All titles of the king and queen to be omitted, and the word "Sovereign" only used.

In the prayer for the king, the clause, "Grant that he may vanquish, &c.," changed into, "*Prosper all his righteous undertakings against thy enemies.*"

The words, "who worketh great marvels," changed into, "who alone art the author of all good gifts;" and



the words, "the holy spirit of thy grace," substituted for "the healthful spirit of thy grace." The reason assigned for the latter was this, that the word *healthful* was *obsolete*.

The prayer, "O God, whose nature and property," to be omitted, as full of strange and impertinent expressions.

The collects to be revised by the Bishop of Chichester\*.

If a minister refused the *surplice*, and the people desired it, the bishop to be at liberty to appoint another, provided the living would bear it.

Sponsors to be disused, and children to be presented in the name of their parents, if desired.

A rubric to declare, that the curses in the Athanasian Creed are confined to those who deny the substance of the Christian religion.

Certain alterations to be made in the *Litany*, the *Communion Service*, and the *Canons*.

Many other verbal alterations were suggested, and several things were left to the care of Tennison. Such were the alterations proposed by the commissioners. Churchmen in the present day will be surprised at some of them, and in my opinion there are but few clergymen who are not thankful that the scheme was frustrated†.

The convocation assembled on the 21st of November, 1689. By the majority of the clergy the changes pro-

\* Patrick, whose talents so well fitted him for the work. Burnet also assisted. They were then left to the final revision of Stillingfleet, the style being polished by Tillotson. NICHOL'S *Defence*, 118.

† BIRCH'S *Life of Tillotson*. CALAMY, i., 452; CARDWELL'S *Conferences*.



posed by the commission were disapproved: and they were determined to offer the strongest resistance to their introduction. They were indeed opposed to any changes whatever. It was argued that such a measure would cause the people to lose their reverence for the Liturgy. It was therefore evident, that the plan of the commissioners would not be carried.

A very severe pamphlet was published at the time against the commission, entitled *A Letter to a Friend, containing some Queries about the New Commission, &c.* This tract forms one of a collection, which was formerly in the possession of one of the nonjurors after 1689, and by this gentleman it is ascribed to Dr. Sherlock. The author proposes several queries on the subject, some of which I quote. "Whether there be any necessity of such alterations in the Liturgy; if there be any, for the satisfaction of the members of our Church, who generally believe there is none, why is not this necessity made appear? If there be none, whether it be for the reputation of the Church to be so frequently meditating unnecessary alterations? If not necessary, whether they are intended for the sake of the Church, or for the satisfaction of dissenters? If for the sake of the Church, should it not be first inquired whether the Church desires it, and what alterations she requires? Should not the convocation, then, have first met and considered before the commissioners had troubled themselves to make such alterations? If for the sake of the Church, why should anything be altered which hath the general approbation of the true members of the Church? If for the satisfaction of dissenters, do they know what will satisfy dissenters? Can any alterations in the Prayers satisfy them who declare against all forms?

Whether they ought not to have as tender a regard to the members of our own Church as to dissenters? If such alterations should make a schism, would it not prove of more consequence than this present schism?" These are some of the queries; and it must be admitted that they are very reasonable. Experience has proved that no concessions would have induced dissenters to conform to the Church.

The struggle between the advocates for change and those who wished to preserve the Liturgy in its present state, commenced at the very outset in the election of a prolocutor. Tillotson was supported by the government. On the 21st of November he was proposed by Dr. Sharp, who subsequently became Archbishop of York: but the election of Dr. Jane was carried by a majority of two to one. On the 25th the prolocutor was presented to the upper house, on which occasion he expatiated, in delivering the usual Latin speech, on the excellency of the Church of England as then constituted, intimating that no amendments could be made, and closing with the words *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*. The president replied, that the clergy ought to be prepared to make concessions in matters not essential; and that it was their duty to show some indulgence to the dissenters under King William, since some of the bishops and clergy had pledged themselves to do so in their addresses to King James\*.

At the next meeting the Bishop of London informed the convocation, that the royal commission was defec-

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 532; BIRCH's *Tillotson*, 198—202; BURNET, iv., 47. It is said that Jane's election was owing to two disappointed peers, who stirred up the opposition. PRI-DEAUX's *Life*, 54, 55; WILKINS, iv., 619.

tive, inasmuch as the great seal had not been attached. They were therefore prorogued until the defect was supplied. During the interval, attempts were made to bring over the leading members of the lower house to the views of the commissioners, but without effect. Two arguments were chiefly used by the opponents of the government: *first*, that changes appeared to derogate from the dignity of the Church; *secondly*, that, as the archbishop and some of the bishops were ready to separate, because they could not take the oaths to the new government, it would be dangerous to make any changes, lest they might be made a pretext of being for the *old Church* as well as for the *old king*\*.

On the 4th of December the royal commission was communicated to the convocation, by which they were authorized to act. After reciting a part of the Act of Submission relative to the authority of the Crown, the commission stated, that, "as rites and ceremonies are indifferent and alterable," changes might be made according to the exigencies of times and places; that it was desirable that the canons should be reviewed, and the ecclesiastical courts reformed. The convocation was accordingly empowered to treat of alterations, and to form canons and constitutions, to be submitted to his Majesty. The instrument was dated November 30th, 1689.

The king also sent a message by the Earl of Nottingham, in which he expresses his assurance that the convocation will not be influenced by any representations which may have been made "to disappoint his good intentions, or deprive the Church of any benefit from your consultations." He hopes that the things

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 552.



proposed "shall be calmly considered," and assures them that nothing will be offered which is not calculated to promote the welfare of the Church\*. The bishops agreed upon an address to his Majesty, in which they thank the king for his zeal for the *Protestant religion in general, and the Church of England in particular*. They add, "We look on these marks of your Majesty's care and favour as the continuance of the great deliverance Almighty God wrought for us by your means, in making you the blessed instrument of preserving us from falling under the cruelty of popish tyranny†." It was not approved, however, by the lower house, who contended for the privilege of a separate address from their own body. The upper house did not admit that they had any such right, upon which the clergy proceeded to make amendments in the address, alleging, in justification of their proceeding, that they wished to confine themselves to such things only in his Majesty's message as concerned the Church of England. A conference was therefore proposed, which was managed chiefly by the Bishop of Salisbury and the prolocutor. The words *Protestant religion* were objected to, but the bishops contended for the expression; *first*, because it was the known designation of the common doctrine of the western part of Christendom, in opposition to the corruptions of the Romish church; *secondly*, because the omission would be liable to strange constructions; *thirdly*, because it agrees with the general reasons offered for amendments by the clergy. The lower house, however, resolved to substitute *Protestant churches* for *Protestant religion*; and when the bishops demanded a reason, they an-

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 554.

† *Ibid.*



swered, "We being the representatives of a formed Established Church, do not think fit to mention the word *religion* any further than it is the religion of some *formed Established Church*." The Bishop of Salisbury argued that the Church of England was only distinguished from other Protestant churches by its *hierarchy* and *revenues*, and that if popery should prevail it would be called the Church of England, so that the expression was equivocal. The prolocutor replied, that the Church of England was distinguished by its doctrines, as contained in the *Articles*, *Liturgy*, and *Homilies*, and that the term *Protestant churches* was much more equivocal, since *Socinians*, *Anabaptists*, and *Quakers* assumed the title.

The amendments were returned by the bishops with this alteration, "We doubt not the interest of the Protestant religion in this and all other Protestant churches." The lower house requested the omission of the words *this* and *and*, lest the Church of England should suffer diminution in being joined with *foreign Protestant churches*. These words were at last omitted. The passage relative to the deliverance from popish tyranny was also omitted. In short, the address, in its amended form, was quite different from that which was originally framed by the bishops. There was no allusion in the amended address to his Majesty's zeal for the Protestant religion, nor was there any expression of thanks for his Majesty's commission. The following answer was returned:

"My lords,—I take this address very kindly from the convocation. You may depend upon it, that all I have promised, and all that I can do for the service of the Church of England, I will do. And I give you

this new assurance, that I will improve all occasions and opportunities for its service\*."

The majority of the lower house were disposed to view Sancroft and his nonjuring brethren with favour; and one member proposed that some steps should be taken, by which the suspended bishops might take their seats. Kennet, who well understood the feelings of parties at the time, says that the matter was deferred for further consideration, while the members "laboured to find out some other business to divert them from that for which they were called together." The prolocutor, therefore, represented, that some dangerous books, especially one on the *Athanasian Creed*, and *Two Letters* on the present convocation, were circulated; and he requested the advice of the bishops on the subject. The president expressed his sense of the character of the books, but could not decide how far the convocation was at liberty to proceed in such a business†.

The convocation, on the 13th of December, was adjourned until the 24th of January, and soon after was dissolved with the parliament. The king was advised, under the circumstances, to dissolve the assembly without permitting them to enter on the business proposed in the commission. Several measures, besides those which are specified in the commission, were in contemplation by various members, and among others a book of *family prayers*. "There was also

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 554; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 109, 110; CARDWELL'S *Conferences*, 440—450; BIRCH'S *Tillotson*, 204, 205; BURNET, iv., 47, who remarks that "it was not carried without difficulty to make a decent address to the king."

† *Comp. Hist.* 555; BIRCH'S *Tillotson*, 207, 208; PRI-DEAUX'S *Life*, 56, 57.

provided a family book to be authorized by this convocation; it contained directions for family devotions, with several forms of prayer." It appears that Tennison was the compiler, for the writer of the *Life of Dean Prideaux* says, "Some years after the breaking up of this convocation, as he was walking with Archbishop Tennison in his garden at Lambeth, he pressed the archbishop very much to publish this book, but the archbishop thought it had best be done with the concurrence of the convocation." Prideaux opposed this view, telling Tennison, who said that there were thoughts of calling a convocation, that it would be dangerous to summon them until the clergy should be in a better temper. The book was afterwards lost\*.

In the year 1689, *The State Services*, as they are usually termed, were again to be considered. The service for *The Fifth of November* was now altered, so as to render it suitable to the two events, namely, *The Papists' Conspiracy*, and *The Arrival of King William*. During the reign of Charles II., the three services were authorized by an order in council; but when the *Form* for *The Fifth of November* was altered, it was set forth by a special order, dated October the 19th, 1690, the name of the king being attached. It was ordered to be printed and published, and annexed to the Book of Common Prayer. Thus, in an edition of the Book of Common Prayer of the year 1691, the service for *The Fifth of November* is accompanied by the separate order. It is singular, too, that in this edition the service for *The Restoration* has the separate order in council, prepared and issued in the time of King James, with his Majesty's name attached. In

\* PRIDEAUX'S *Life*, 61—65.



another edition of the year 1692, there is the separate order for the service for *The Fifth of November*, and then the usual order for the three together at the close of the third. Subsequent to this period, the separate orders for the services for *The Fifth of November* and *The Twenty-ninth of May* were omitted, the one form being used for the three. This is the case in an edition of the Liturgy of the year 1700. The order for the three services is dated the 6th of October, 1692, and is issued in the name of Queen Mary. The services for the 30th of January and the 29th of May, were not altered by King William, but adopted in the state in which they were left by King James.

Burnet, who was very anxious at the time for the changes, admits that the providence of God was displayed in the proceedings which led to a refusal to make alterations in the Liturgy. He allows that had changes taken place, many persons would have adhered to the nonjurors, who would have been viewed as the old and true Church of England. It is evident, indeed, that the consequences of such changes must at that time have been most disastrous. It must also be confessed, that some of the proposed alterations were *frivolous*, while others were decidedly objectionable. Tindal says the nonjurors were disappointed by the refusal to alter the Liturgy, as they wished for a good pretence for their separation\*.

The lower house were undoubtedly induced to take a gloomy view of the prospects of the Church, in consequence of the proceedings in Scotland. In that country episcopacy had been abolished by the present

\* TINDAL'S *Cont.* iii., 111; BIRCH'S *Tillotson*, 209; BURNET, iv., 48.



government; and there was an apprehension lest a similar attempt should be made in England, so that their opposition was not unreasonable. It was imagined that the predilections of the king were in favour of presbytery, and that the safer course would be to resist all changes. That their views were sound was afterwards admitted by Burnet; or at all events, he admits that their opposition was overruled for good\*.

Tillotson was elevated to the see of Canterbury after the deprivation of Sancroft, and during his primacy no business was transacted in convocation. Ten years elapsed without any synodical proceedings beyond the mere meeting and adjourning. "They were kept," says Burnet, "from doing mischief by prorogations for a course of ten years†." The government were afraid of their meetings. For a time, too, both parties were silent respecting the convocation; the advocates of the changes hoping that the opposition would subside after an interval, and the opponents being content not to revive a question on which such strong feelings were entertained. Under these circumstances the convocation was prorogued from time to time, until the year 1700.

Before we proceed in the history, we must notice a remarkable effect produced by the *Convocation Book* of Bishop Overall, which was published at this time by Archbishop Sancroft, as has already been noticed in a preceding chapter. Dr. Sherlock, who hesitated to take the oaths to the new government, professed that his scruples were removed by this book. The case was this: The Netherlands had revolted from the Spaniards, and in allusion to their case, the convocation, though on all other points they carried the royal

\* NICHOLS'S *Defence*, 121.

† BURNET, iv., 47.

prerogative very high, decided, that a government when fully settled, though commenced in rebellion, was lawful, and that submission might be yielded to it. It is clear that Sancroft had not considered the passage in question. Sherlock, however, took the oaths on the ground that the Anglican Church recognised a government *de facto*. He also endeavoured to induce others to take the same views, by quoting Overall's book. Thus Sancroft printed the book for one purpose; and in Sherlock's case it answered another. In all probability Sherlock had begun to repent of his refusal to comply with the new order of things. In my opinion he was looking about for a reason to enable him, with some colour of justice, to retrace his steps, and he found it in this Convocation Book. This appears to have been the most remarkable result produced by its publication\*. Sherlock was actually suspended before he discovered the lawfulness of taking the oaths. He then published his *Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers*, &c., in which he says, "That he had some of the thoughts before;" but he says further, "Stick I did, and could find no help for it, and there I should have stuck to this day, had I not been relieved by Bishop Overall's *Convocation Book*." This work was severely attacked by several individuals. There soon appeared *A Review of Dr. Sherlock's Case of Allegiance*, &c., supposed to have been written by Wagstaffe. Sherlock published *A Vindication of the Case of Allegiance*, which was replied to by Wagstaffe in *An Answer to Dr. Sherlock's Vindication*. The author of *The Review*, in allusion to Overall's book,

\* BURNET, iv., 309, 310; WELWOOD, 31; *History of the Affair of Dr. Sacheverel*, 197.

says, "It is a shrewd sign the doctor was hard put to it, when he caught hold of a twig; yet nothing will serve him, but it must be the judgment of the Church of England."

But the weapons of ridicule and satire were also used against Sherlock on this occasion. A bitter pamphlet was published under this title: *The Trimming Court Divine, or Reflections on Dr. Sherlock's Book on the Lawfulness of swearing Allegiance to the present Government*. The author observes, "They were wicked, according to him, who contributed to drive out King James; and yet they are no less wicked who shall in the least contribute to bring him in again." Again: "His scheme of government is calculated for every meridian, nor can anything happen amiss to him, provided there be but an actual possessor of the supreme power, which 'tis impossible there should want." In allusion to the *Convocation Book*, he says—"That book set him most blessedly at liberty; a pretty fetch to hale in the Church of England to abet his untoward principles." But a satirical poem was also published with the title, *The Weesils, a satyrical Fable, giving an Account of some Argumental Passages happening in the Lion's Court about Weesilion's taking the Oaths*; 4to. 1691. The doctor's wife is represented as arguing the point. Thus the argument of the first section explains its character:

Husband and wife at variance are  
About the oaths, till female art  
Informs his conscience he must swear,  
And brings him over to her part.

The doctor is represented as arguing against the oaths on the ground of character. She alludes to some



of his writings, which, she says, favour her view. He replies—

Opinions variously the wise endite :  
Ne'er build too much on what I write ;  
Thou art my own, and I may boldly say,  
My pen can travel this and t'other way.

The wife at last says, the doctor having exhorted her to depend on Providence—

But the meantime I want my coach and six,  
The neighbouring wives already slight me too,  
Justle to the wall, and take the upper pew.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the doctor yields to the entreaties of his wife, and takes the oaths to King William and Queen Mary. Tom Brown is supposed to have been the author of this pungent satire.

But though the convocation was silent, the press was fruitful, as is usual on such occasions, in publications on both sides in the controversy. Tennison published *A Discourse on the Ecclesiastical Commission, proving it to be agreeable to the Law of the Land, useful to the Convocation, tending to the Wellbeing of the Church, and seasonable at this Juncture*; 1689, 4to. Prideaux also published *A Letter to a Friend relating to the present Convocation*; 1689. Long, one of the prebendaries of Exeter, appeared on the opposite side in his *Vox Cleri, or the Sense of the Clergy concerning the making Alterations in the Liturgy, &c.*; which was answered by Payne in *An Answer to Vox Cleri, examining the Reasons against making Alterations, &c.* Two other works also appeared against the *Vox Cleri*, namely, *Vox Populi, or the Sense of the sober Laymen of England*; and *Vox Regis et Regni, or a Protest against Vox Cleri*. On the other part, Mr.



Basset published *Two Letters*, and *A Vindication concerning Alterations*; while, in support of the views of the bishops, *A just Censure of Vox Cleri*, and *Remarks upon the Two Letters*, were published\*.

Before the meeting of convocation in 1700 another controversy arose, which was carried on with much warmth on the part of many of the disputants. Tension succeeded Tillotson in 1694. Like his predecessor, he advised the Crown not to permit the convocation to act. At length, those who held the views of the majority of the lower house in 1689 became impatient of the restraint imposed by the Crown. They complained that it was unjust not to allow the convocation to sit; nor can it be denied, whatever their conduct may have been, that they had, at all events, the appearance of justice on their side. Under these circumstances appeared the celebrated *Letter to a Convocation Man*; 4to., 1697. The writer, after some reflections on the king and the archbishop, and certain allusions to the Church of Scotland, affirms that the convocation has a right, not only to meet every session of Parliament, but to sit and transact business without the royal license. This point, therefore, was the hinge on which the future controversy mainly depended. It was considered on the one side, that the convocation was restrained by the Act of Submission from proceeding to treat of matters ecclesiastical, without express permission or license from the Crown. This doctrine, which had been believed and acted on since the Reformation, was now denied in the *Letter* in question. On the other side, therefore, it was urged that convocations met in obedience to the archbishop's summons, which of course

\* BIRCH's *Tillotson*, 209, 210.

depended on the prince; that they were prorogueable at his pleasure; and that they could not act without a license\*.

This work was answered by Dr. Wake in *The Authority of Christian Princes over their Ecclesiastical Synods*, 8vo., 1697. Wake combats the proposition of the *Letter*; and, by a large induction of particulars, he shows that Christian princes ever had the right to call synods, and to regulate their proceedings until it was wrested from them by the pope. He, therefore, claims for our sovereigns the power only which was exercised by Christian princes in the early periods of the Church. He also appeals to the Act of Submission as a proof that the clergy cannot treat of ecclesiastical matters without the royal permission. During the same year was published *A Letter to a Member of Parliament, occasioned by a Letter to a Convocation Man*. It was written by Mr. Wright, who took the same view with Wake. He was a lawyer; and it is worthy of observation that the author of the *Letter* professes to be a lawyer, though such was not the case, Dr. Binkes being a clergyman†.

Wake was soon answered by Hill in his *Municipium Ecclesiasticum*, in which Wake is charged with betraying the rights of the Church. In 1698 Wake published *An Appeal to all True Members of the Church of England in behalf of the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy*, 8vo. Hill's arguments are noticed in this work.

But the most powerful antagonist of Wake was Atterbury, who published *The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation, stated and vindicated*.

\* *Letter to a Convocation Man*. Biog. Brit., art. "Atterbury." TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 523, who strangely ascribes the *Letter* to Atterbury, whereas it was written by Dr. Binkes.

† KENNET'S *Synods*, 19.

cated, in answer to a late *Book of Dr. Wake's*, entitled, &c.; 8vo., 1700. In this work Wake is attacked with great severity, Atterbury taking the ground which had been occupied in the *Letter to a Convocation Man*. To give an abstract even of these works is not possible within the compass of a single volume. The reader, who wishes to prosecute the inquiry, will find himself abundantly rewarded by their perusal\*.

This year, however, the year 1700, the convocation was permitted to meet for business; and its proceedings will show that the members were influenced by the views of the one or the other party in the controversy already mentioned. The convocation of Canterbury met on the 10th of February. The sermon was preached by Dr. Haley, dean of Chichester; and Dr. Hooper, dean of Canterbury, was chosen prolocutor. On the 25th the archbishop's schedule for proroguing the convocation was sent to the lower house; but, contrary to the previous practice, they continued their sessions, and proceeded with some unimportant matters, in order to bring the question relative to the right of the archbishop to prorogue to an issue. The custom had always been for the archbishop to sign a *schedule*, by which the upper house was immediately adjourned: it was then sent to the prolocutor, and the lower house was considered as prorogued. Now, however, the archbishop's right was disputed. They insisted on the right of adjourning themselves, in a paper which was afterwards laid before the bishops. After sitting some time to assert their right, the prolocutor signified an adjournment by consent, to meet in Henry VII.'s Chapel, though the arch-

\* Leslie says, "To Atterbury's book we chiefly owe the present convocation."—*Case of the Regale*, pref., p. x.



bishop had fixed the Jerusalem Chamber. On the 28th, the day fixed in the schedule, when the bishops assembled, the clergy did not attend, as had always been the practice. Under these circumstances the prolocutor was summoned. The following questions were proposed by the archbishop:—*first*, “Whether the lower house did sit after they were prorogued on the 25th?” *secondly*, “Whether they did meet this morning without attending in this place to which they were prorogued?” The prolocutor replied that they were preparing something on the subject to submit to the upper house.

The archbishop issued another schedule; and, to prevent any dispute as to the place of meeting, these words were inserted, “*in hunc locum, vulgo vocatum Jerusalem Chamber.*” The lower house submitted on this occasion with a *salvo jure*. On the 6th of March, accordingly, the prolocutor and some of the members attended, in obedience to the *schedule*. A committee of the clergy had been appointed to search the convocation books for directions on the question in dispute. In the report which was drawn up, it was stated that the custom had been to continue sitting until prorogued by the prolocutor, and that the lower house did not always adjourn at the same time with the other; *secondly*, that the usage had been for the lower house to meet in the place where they had last sat, and not where the archbishop might appoint; that it had not been the practice to attend their lordships before proceeding to business; and that it had only been the custom to wait on the bishops when they had matters to transact, or were summoned by a special messenger\*.

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 797, 798; TINDAL’S *Cont.*, iii., 525, 526; CALAMY, i., 573, 574; WILKINS, iv., 630.



A direct answer was expected by the bishops to the questions proposed. The paper was, however, read, and its examination referred to a committee. An answer was afterwards returned by the bishops, "in which," says Burnet, "all their precedents were examined and answered, and the matter was so clearly stated and so fully proved, that we hoped we had put an end to the dispute\*." At the same time the president delivered to the prolocutor the *form* of an address to the king. A single amendment, namely, the substitution of the words *Reformed Churches* for *Reformed religion*, was made by the lower and accepted by the upper house; after which the address was presented. They thanked the king for the protection which he had granted, and for his pious regard for the Reformed Churches in general. They also express their determination to maintain the royal supremacy, and the articles and canons of the Church. An answer was returned by his Majesty.

In the next session, March 20th, the prolocutor brought up a representation respecting certain books, and solicited the advice of the upper house. The book, to which special exception was taken, was Toland's *Christianity not mysterious*, which had been submitted to the lower house by the vice-chancellor of Oxford. Certain resolutions, condemnatory of the book, were passed by the lower house, to which was appended a schedule of positions extracted from the same work. These papers were laid before the upper house.

On the 22nd of March, the archbishop produced a book, entitled *Essays on the Balance of Power*. In this work the author asserted, that persons had been

\* BURNET, v., 33, 39

promoted in the Church who were remarkable for nothing but enmity to the divinity of Christ. The bishops, therefore, agreed that a paper should be affixed to the doors of Westminster Abbey, calling upon the author to make good his assertions, in order that the parties might be proceeded against; otherwise the passage in question to be voted a public scandal\*.

Burnet remarks on the proceedings respecting Toland's book, "They brought up the censure to the bishops, and desired them to agree to their resolutions. This struck so directly at episcopal authority, that it seemed strange to see men who had so long asserted the divine right of episcopacy, and that presbyters were only their assistants and council, now assume to themselves the most important act of church government, the judging in points of doctrine†." Burnet's remark, however, was unnecessary, for the lower house merely presented a representation to the bishops, and surely this act was quite within their province.

The lower house voted, on the 31st of March, that they had a right to adjourn themselves. A message was, therefore, sent to the bishops to this effect, that they had considered their lordships' reply to their paper, and that it was unsatisfactory. They asked, therefore, for a free conference. After the prolocutor had retired, the bishops proceeded to discuss the matter proposed by the clergy: and on their return the archbishop informed them that, as they had replied to their paper in writing, they also expected a written answer from the lower house. The prolocutor remarked that their answer would occupy twenty sheets, upon

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 799; CALAMY, i., 575.

† BURNET, v., 39, 40.

which the archbishop replied, that he "did not confine them to length and breadth, but expected their answer in writing\*."

Still the lower house refused to return a written answer, and persisted in their demand for a free conference. They therefore drew up a long paper in writing, containing their reasons for not returning a written reply to the paper from the upper house. They again asserted their right of adjourning themselves, and requested a free conference. It was presented on the 5th of April†.

In the mean time the bishops proceeded with the business connected with Toland's book. They resolved to consult precedents as their guide. Something similar had occurred in 1689. The lower house had complained of certain books; the archbishop declared them to be pernicious, but stated at the same time that he did not know what were the powers of convocation in such cases. Lawyers were consulted, however, and the result was, that, as the law stood, the authors of the books might be prosecuted, but that the convocation could not interfere. Such was the view in 1689. A committee of bishops was appointed to examine Toland's book, who reported that it was of dangerous tendency. Having the results of a similar proceeding in 1689 before them, they resolved to take the opinion of counsel on the point before they advanced further. Two questions were proposed; *first*, whether giving an opinion in convocation concerning a book that it is immoral

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 836.

† *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 836, 837; BURNET, v., 38, who says that some in the lower house had no end in view but to force themselves into preferment by their opposition.



and impious is contrary to any law? *secondly*, whether the words in the affixed paper are such an opinion as is contrary to any law? On receiving the answer, the bishops drew up a paper for the lower house, in which they state that, having consulted counsel, they could not censure such books judicially without a license from the king, which they had not received; and that were they to do so, they might incur the penalties of the statute of the 25th Henry VIII\*.

On the 8th of April the bishops returned an answer to the paper of the lower house of the 5th. They stated that they must maintain the ancient constitution of the Church; that while they regarded the rights of the lower house, they could not relinquish their own; that after searching the registers they could not but declare that the proceedings of the lower house were irregular; and that they were surprised that an answer had not been given to the paper in question. After the answer had been read, and copies delivered to the clergy, the archbishop prorogued the convocation in a speech in which he alluded to the proceedings of the lower house. The following are extracts:—

“ We have many enemies, and they wait for nothing more than to see the union and order of this Church, which is both its beauty and its strength, broken by those who ought to preserve it.”

“ For the maintaining the episcopal authority is so necessary to the preservation of the Church, that the

\* WILKINS, iv., 631; *Comp. Hist.*, 337; BURNET, v., 40. Burnet says that Northey, who was afterwards attorney-general, thought the matter to be of great consequence, since, by condemning some things and approving others, they might alter the doctrine of the Church.



rest of the clergy are no less concerned in it than the bishops themselves."

"I have thought fit, with the rest of my brethren, to prorogue the convocation for some time. It is a season of devotion, and I pray God it may have a good effect on all our minds."

"We, on our part, are willing to forget all that is past, and to go on with you at our next meeting, as well as at all times, with all tenderness and parental affection, in all such things as shall conduce to the good of this church\*."

They were prorogued until the 8th of May; but the prolocutor, with some of the clergy, returning to Henry VII.'s Chapel, continued to sit as a house for some time, and then adjourned themselves until the next day. Many of the clergy retired from the party in opposition to the bishops. "It was," says Kennet, "an affection of independence that was unknown to former convocations, and never before attempted by any presbyters in any episcopal church†."

At the next meeting, May 8, the archbishop told the clergy that their proceedings, in holding sessions after the prorogation, were irregular, and that they could not receive anything that had been done in the interval. The prolocutor, holding a paper in his hand, replied, "I am commanded by the lower house to bring up this paper, and I do present it as the act of the house this day." The paper was then laid on the table, as an answer to the paper delivered to the lower house on the 8th of April, the day of the prorogation. In this document they remark that the archbishop might have

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 838.

† *Ibid.*, iii., 839; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 527, 528.

obtained a license to proceed in the case of Toland's book. An answer was prepared by a committee, in which the bishops state that they had condemned Toland's book, but had deemed it right to be guided in their proceedings by precedents; that royal licenses had always been granted *ex mero motu*, and not on petitions; and that it could not be expected, considering the treatment of the former *license*, that another would be granted until a better spirit prevailed: and that the bishop of the diocese, in which Toland resided, might proceed against the author. After some allusions to the proceedings of the lower house in their separate adjournments, their claiming a distinct recess, and some other matters, the bishops add, "which, together with some reports raised upon 'em, have given the greatest blow to this Church that hath been given it since the Presbyterian Assembly that sat at Westminster in the late times of confusion\*."

In order to come to an amicable arrangement, the bishops appointed a committee of five, to meet a similar number from the lower house, for the purpose of examining the acts of the present synod, and to report upon them. To this pacific proposal the lower house replied that they should not nominate any committee. When, too, the schedule of prorogation, by which the convocation was adjourned until the 18th of May, was delivered to the prolocutor to signify to the clergy, he refused to make any intimation of it, and took upon himself to adjourn the house unto the next day. Some of the members were much distressed at such a course. They therefore resolved to address the archbishop on the subject; and on the 16th of May, the day fixed in

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 840.

the schedule, a paper was presented to the president, in which the clergy who signed it beg of his Grace not to interpret their absence as a mark of disrespect to himself, since it was occasioned by the fact that the prorogation was not intimated to the lower house by the prolocutor. It was signed by several members, among whom were Beveridge and Sherlock\*.

To evince their opposition still more, the lower house proceeded to attack the work of Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles. It may appear strange to us, now that the reputation of the work has been so fully, and for such a length of time, established, that a large body of influential clergymen should have concurred in a vote of censure. Yet such was actually the case. They drew up a *Representation of their Sense upon the Bishop of Sarum's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, which was presented to the upper house on the 30th of May. The archbishop replied, "If you have anything to offer, we cannot receive it till the late irregularity of refusing to meet the committee of bishops to inspect the books of this convocation be set right." A copy of the archbishop's speech was presented to the prolocutor, who retired, and, after a short space, returned to the room adjoining the Jerusalem Chamber. The Bishop of Bangor, by direction of the archbishop, went out to ask "whether the message he was now to bring was to set the irregularity complained of right?" On his return the bishop reported that the prolocutor said, at first, "that it was something in order to set that irregularity right," and that then, recollecting and correcting himself, he said, "it was concerning that irregularity." Upon this answer being reported, the prolocutor and

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 840.



his attendants were introduced, when the archbishop stated that they were willing to receive anything connected with setting right the irregularity. The prolocutor said that it was something concerning it. He then began to read a paper, which referred, not to the irregularity, but to Burnet's *Exposition of the Articles*.

The archbishop and bishops were taken by surprise by the course pursued by the prolocutor; and the Bishop of Bangor proceeded to state again what had passed between them in the adjoining room. He even charged Dr. Hooper, the prolocutor, with prevarication, in having asserted that the paper did refer to the irregularity.

The paper, therefore, which the prolocutor wished to present, was their complaint of Burnet's work, entitled *A Representation of the Lower House of Convocation*. It stated, that a book had been published by the Bishop of Sarum, which the author had declared to have been sanctioned by several bishops. Their complaints were arranged under the following heads, and the reader will be curious to see them, in consequence of the popularity of the work to which they refer.

"1. That the said book tends to introduce such a latitude and diversity of opinions, as the Articles were framed to avoid.

"2. That there are many passages in the *Exposition* of several Articles, which appear to us to be contrary to the true meaning of them, and to other received doctrines of our Church.

"3. That there are some things in the said book which seem to us to be of dangerous consequence to the



Church of England, as by law established, and to derogate from the honour of its reformation.

"All which particulars we humbly lay before your Lordships, praying your opinion herein."

When the prolocutor had withdrawn, the bishops proceeded to discuss the matter. After a short space the prolocutor was called in, and informed that they could not depart from their former resolution not to receive anything from the lower house until the late irregularity was set right. Some of the clergy did not concur in this hasty measure of the majority, and just at this juncture they appeared with a complaint in writing, in which they protested against all that had taken place in the intermediate sessions. The protestation states, that they had been prevented from entering a protest in their own house, and they begged to be permitted to do so to the bishops. It was signed by *thirteen* individuals, among whom were Sherlock and Bull\*.

At the next session, June 6th, the archbishop told the prolocutor that they could not receive anything from the lower house until the irregularity was set right. He stated, however, that the Bishop of Sarum had requested them to receive their *Representation* respecting his *Exposition*, and that, in consequence of that request, they would receive it, but without prejudice to their former order. The prolocutor now replied, that the paper in his hand was not that on the Bishop of Sarum's book, but a paper concerning the irregularity. He was requested to procure the other while the present was read by the register. In the document now presented the clergy stated, that

\* *Comp. Hist.* iii., 840, 841 ; BURNET, v., 41.

they considered themselves at liberty to admit or decline the appointment of a committee; that they could see no ground for such a committee; but that still they should have complied, had not their Lordships expressed their opinion, that all that was transacted in their house between the 8th of April and the 8th of May was of dangerous consequence. They prayed, therefore, that the bishops would lay aside their resolution, and restore the communication between the two houses.

This paper was referred to a committee, who made a report to the house; after which the bishops replied, that what had been done was agreeable to the practice of former convocations, and that when the point was disputed, they proposed a committee to inspect the acts and registers, to which the clergy refused to assent, a thing unprecedented in the history of the Church. They also added, that by such refusal the lower house had departed from the usual practice, broken the subordination to their metropolitan and bishops, and interrupted the intercourse between the two houses; that they might have proceeded against them for contempt by canonical admonitions, but that they called it by the milder term, an *irregularity*. They repeat, therefore, that until the lower house return to their duty, they cannot proceed to business with them, or receive communications from them. In allusion to the notion entertained by the lower house, that they could sit and act alone, the bishops remark, that it is a mistake, since the convocation is but one body, meeting first in one place, the archbishop being president; that though a particular place is assigned for their debates, they are yet compelled to attend the

archbishop's call, and that both houses are continued and prorogued by one instrument. They further declared, that all the proceedings of the intermediate sessions were null and void, and they conclude with an expression of hope, that the lower house would consider of their irregularity, and remove the obstruction to the regular transaction of business\*.

The prolocutor now brought up their *Representation* on Burnet's *Exposition*, when he was told by the archbishop that the complaint contained only generals, and that particulars must be specified. On the retirement of the prolocutor, it was supposed that the clergy were about to prepare a particular charge against Burnet's work. Some time having elapsed, a messenger was sent to make the inquiry whether they had anything in readiness to present respecting the work in question. They replied that they were preparing business, but that it was not yet ready. Upon the receipt of this answer, the archbishop prorogued the convocation to the 13th of June.

But in the mean time a committee of bishops had come to the following resolution respecting Burnet's *Exposition*.

*First*, in relation to the complaint and censure of the Bishop of Sarum's exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles made by the lower house, and presented to the archbishop and bishops on May 30th, 1701.

"1. It is our opinion that the lower house of convocation has no manner of power judicially to censure any book.

"2. That the lower house of convocation ought not to have entered on the examination of a book of any

\* *Comp. Hist.* iii., 842, 843.



bishop of this Church, without first acquainting the president and bishops with it.

"3. That the lower house of convocation's censuring the book of the Bishop of Sarum in general terms, without mentioning the particular passages on which the censure is grounded, is defamatory and scandalous.

"4. That the Bishop of Sarum, by his excellent *History of the Reformation*, approved by both houses of parliament, and other writings, hath done great service to the Church of England, and justly deserves the thanks of this house.

"5. That though private persons may expound the Articles of the Church, yet it cannot be proper for the convocation at this time to approve, and much less to condemn, such private exposition."

In the *second* part of their declaration, the bishops referred to the complaint which had been raised by the prolocutor against the Bishop of Bangor, respecting his report of the conversation between them on a previous occasion in the room adjoining the Jerusalem Chamber. They justify the Bishop of Bangor.

Then, in the *third* place, they express their approbation of the course pursued by those who had protested against the proceedings of the lower house. They further state that the prolocutor and some other members had been guilty of contempt and disobedience.

At the next session, on the 20th of June, as soon as prayers were ended, the prolocutor, accompanied by the majority of the members of the lower house, appeared, holding in his hand two papers. The archbishop stated that no paper would be received except that which contained the particulars of the charge against the



Bishop of Sarum's book. To this the prolocutor replied, that he had two papers, but that, without instructions, he could not present the one without the other. He added, that he would return and obtain the opinion of the house. However, he did not return; and the convocation was prorogued to the 7th of August, then to the 18th of September, till it was at length dissolved with the parliament\*.

In the province of York no business had been transacted in this convocation.

Atterbury had reprinted his work on the convocation during the year 1700, just as the parliament assembled, and had corrected several mistakes into which he had fallen, fearing lest the errors should be detected by others. As has been remarked already, Atterbury's object was to prove that the convocation had a right to sit and act without any express permission from the Crown, beyond the writ by which they were assembled†.

He found an able antagonist in Kennet, who published *Ecclesiastical Synods and Parliamentary Convocations in the Church of England, historically stated and justly vindicated from the Misrepresentations of Mr. Atterbury*, 8vo., 1701. The work is remarkable for its moderation. It appears, that most of the bad feeling in this controversy was on the side of those who supported the views of the majority of the lower house. Kennet clearly shows, that anciently there were two kinds of assemblies in this country; namely, those which were purely ecclesiastical, and those which were of a parliamentary character: that for ages the clergy

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 344; CALAMY, i., 608, 609; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 529.

† TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 524; BURNET, iv., 363; v., 35.

came to convocation merely to attend the bishops: that they came to the parliamentary assemblies to grant subsidies: and that in the end, the men who were summoned to parliament, were summoned, at the same time, to a provincial synod concurrent with the parliament. He shows, however, that the writ by which they were called to the synod was different from that which was in the summons of the bishops.

An anonymous work appeared about the same time with this title *The Principles of Mr. Atterbury's Book, and his Arguments against Dr. Wake and others, stated and examined*. The writer complains that Atterbury's design had been to state his opponent's views unfairly, and to answer what he had never advanced. Soon after another work was published on the side of Atterbury, entitled, *Some Remarks upon the temper of the late Writers about Convocations; particularly Dr. Wake, Dr. Kennet, and the Author of Mr. Atterbury's Principles*. Hill also, the author of *The Municipium Ecclesiasticum*, again came forward, in defence of Atterbury's views, and in opposition to the principle advocated by Wake. His work bore this title, *The Rights, Liberties, and Authorities of the Christian Church, asserted against all oppressive Doctrines and Constitutions*, 8vo., 1701.

During the present convocation, new subjects of debate had arisen, respecting the right of the archbishop to adjourn the lower house, and other points, which have already been detailed in this chapter. As a matter of course, the controversy was carried on by means of the press as well as in the convocation. Kennet published *A Letter on English Convocations*, in which the right of the archbishop is defended\*. About

\* KENNET'S *Life*, 20.

the same time, too, there appeared on the same side in the controversy, *A Letter to a Friend in the Country, concerning the Proceedings in the present Convocation*. This is attributed to Gibson, who took an active part in the discussion\*. It was answered in a pamphlet with this title, *The Power of the Lower House of Convocation to adjourn itself, vindicated from the Misrepresentations of a late Paper*.

After the dissolution of the convocation, there appeared *A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation relating to Prorogations and Adjournments, from Monday, February 10th, to Wednesday, June 25th, 1701; drawn up by Order of the House*. This was therefore the official record of their proceedings, and, of course, an attempt at justification. Some time after, another work was published as a sort of reply to the preceding, under the title, *The History of the Convocation*. It was drawn up from the journal of the upper house, and from the narrative and minutes of the lower house. This [was written by Kennet]. Several other works were published on both sides in this protracted controversy, of which the titles only need be mentioned, as, *The Right of the Archbishop to continue or prorogue the whole Convocation: A Letter to the Author of the "Narrative:" A Letter to a Clergyman in the Country, concerning the Choice of Members, and the execution of the Parliament Writ for the ensuing Convocation: The Case of the Præmunientes considered: A Reply to the "Letter to a Clergyman:," and a third Letter to a Clergyman*.

It is quite unnecessary to specify all the works; but

\* *Biog. Brit.*, art. ATTERBURY.

† KENNET'S *Life*, p. 20; CALAMY, i., 609.



the following may be consulted, namely, *A faithful Account of what passed in Convocation, in Three Letters: and An Expedient proposed in answer to the "Right of the Archbishop to prorogue the whole Convocation asserted."* The views of the majority in the lower house were advocated in these publications, though with much moderation in the latter, which was answered in *A Letter to the Author of the pretended Expedient*, in which the writer says, that the expedient must begin in owning the authority of the metropolitan and his suffragans. The same work was also commented on in *Reflections on a late Paper, intituled "An Expedient proposed."*

At this time a work of more importance also made its appearance. This was *A History of English Councils and Convocations, and of the Clergy sitting in Parliament; in which is also comprehended the History of Parliaments, with an Account of our ancient Laws.* By HUMPHREY HODY, D.D., 1701, 8vo. Hody takes the same views with Wake; and the work is managed with great ability and great moderation.

It should also be mentioned, that Burnet entered the lists against Atterbury, who had made some remarks on his *History of the Reformation*. He, therefore, published *Reflections* on Atterbury's work, and in defence of his own *History*.

I have now noticed most of the works on the subject, down to the year 1701. The most important I have carefully examined; and though the detail may be comparatively uninteresting, in the estimation of some persons, yet it is not possible to present a clear view of the subject without a reference to the works published at the time by parties engaged in the controversy.



## CHAPTER XII.—A.D. 1700.

Convocation, 1700. Disputes revived. Prorogation. Death of King William. Reflections on the Disputes. Queen Anne. Convocation, 1702. Controversy revived. Lower House sign a Declaration respecting Episcopacy. Their Conduct examined. Lower House Petition the Queen. Bishops' Reply to Declaration. Prorogation. Works on the subject. Controversy on Burnet's *Exposition*. Convocation, 1703. Representation of the Lower House. Queen Anne's Bounty. Prorogation. State Services. Convocation Controversy. Wake's *State*. Complaints of Lower House. New Convocation, 1705. Disputes on the Address. The Queen's Letter on their Differences. Prorogation. Review of Papers presented by Lower House. Convocation, 1707. Union with Scotland. Lower House complain. Absence of the Prolocutor. Dissolution.

WITH the new parliament, the convocation also met, in January, 1701, or 1702 according to our present mode of reckoning. The opening sermon was preached by Sherlock, and Beveridge and Woodward were brought forward by the two parties as candidates for the office of prolocutor. Woodward was at length chosen. He was now Dean of Sarum, owing all his preferments to Burnet: but he had become popular from his opposition to his friend and patron. On the 22nd of January the two houses presented an address to the king: but on the 28th, another cause of difference arose between the bishops and the clergy. A member proposed that the form of prorogation in the minutes should be changed: that the words, *Dominus*

*Prolocutor continuavit et prorogavit quoad hunc domum*, should be substituted for the usual form, *Prolocutor intimavit hanc convocationem esse continuatam*. The entry was made: but at the next session exceptions were taken against it by several members. The majority, however, declared in favour of the alteration, and that the question should not be debated. When, therefore, the archbishop's schedule was sent down, it was laid aside upon the table: upon which a member stated, that some message had been sent from above, and that it should be communicated to the house before any other business was proceeded with. The majority resisted the motion, and proceeded to appoint a committee of grievances, after which the prolocutor adjourned the house by their own authority. Certain members protested against this unprecedented course, alleging that the archbishop's schedule was the instrument by which the whole convocation was prorogued. Their protest was afterwards committed to writing: and on the 9th of February the Dean of Peterborough moved, that it should be entered on the minutes. The motion was resisted: but at last a resolution was adopted to this effect, that a committee should be appointed to consider of such an expedient respecting the prorogation as might tend to the termination of their disputes. This committee was composed of sixteen persons, eight on each side in the controversy. At their meeting on the following day, they concurred in the following heads of agreement.

"1. That in order to an accommodation, no forms of prorogation shall be used by the prolocutor hereafter, that were not used by the prolocutor before the last convocation.

"2. That the forms of prorogation used by the prolocutor in the convocation of 1586 and 1588, shall hereafter be used by the prolocutor, in the order they lie in the books, beginning with the first, till they are all gone through.

"3. That these forms shall be pronounced by the prolocutor, when the house agrees that their business is over\*."

But these resolutions became the cause of a new controversy among the members of the lower house, some of whom boasted of victory, and that the archbishop's schedule was excluded in the matter of the prorogation. Other members resolved on signing a declaratory form, to be presented to the house, in which they agreed, that the words "these forms shall be pronounced by the prolocutor," were understood by them, with an exception to any case when the president might send an order with the schedule, signifying the express time of intimating the prorogation on that day: and they add, "otherwise, if it were pretended to mean, that the authority of the archbishop, or any order sent from the upper house, was thereby excluded or diminished: they then solemnly protest against any such meaning or pretended meaning." This document was subscribed by several members. The eight members of the committee, who took a similar view, met and signed a declaration, in which they stated, that they had united with the other eight with a sincere desire for peace, and that under the influence of that desire, they had "endeavoured to find an expedient for the present practice, that should not determine the merits of the question between 'em." They also stated, that to

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 846.



accomplish the end they had adopted the ancient methods, when the controversy had not been moved: and that as they could not agree upon a *form* which was agreeable to both parties, and since the books of 1586 and 1588 were considered as most authentic by both sides, they had resolved that the *forms* should be taken in order from these books. Further they declared, that though they admitted the power of the archbishop to prorogue the house, yet that, believing that his Grace did not expect the immediate intimation of his continuation, unless he had also sent a special order to that effect, they had concurred in the third proposition, or head of agreement.

On the 12th of February, the prolocutor, being unable to attend to the duties of his office in consequence of severe indisposition, deputed another member to act as his substitute. The house concurred in opinion that a deputy must be appointed: but there was a difference among them respecting the right to appoint. However, as no application was made to the archbishop to confirm the appointment, he summoned the members to appear in the Jerusalem Chamber. He told them, in allusion to the appointment of a deputy, that *an incident of great moment had happened*, and that, as time was necessary to consider it, he should adjourn them until Saturday.

Dr. Woodward, the prolocutor, had been engaged in a dispute with his diocesan, Bishop Burnet. On the 9th of February, a complaint was made by the clergy to the upper house, that their prolocutor had been proceeded against in a suit for pretended contempt and disobedience: and further, that he had been admonished to appear on certain days within the period of the



sitting of convocation, which was a breach of privilege. The bishops replied, that the proceedings had been commenced at a period when no privilege could be pleaded, and that at the commencement of the convocation the Bishop of Sarum had ordered a *stet* to be put upon the cause. They added, that they could see no ground for the complaint.

It should be mentioned, that Woodward acted with impartiality in the post to which he was advanced. It is stated, that "he conducted himself with candour and abilities much beyond what was expected from him\*."

On Friday, February 13, the prolocutor died: and on the following day the archbishop, after alluding to the circumstance, and stating, that the Dean and Chapter of Westminster would use that room on the Monday and Tuesday, Wednesday also being Ash-Wednesday, prorogued the convocation until Thursday\*.

On the 19th of February, the archbishop dismissed the clergy in a speech of considerable length and great moderation, in which he touched upon the various topics which had been made the subjects of discussion. He alluded to the death of the prolocutor, and the choice of a successor, telling the house that he should take time to consider the subject, and at present proceed to a prorogation. He added, however, that he should continue the prorogation from time to time, during the session of parliament, so that, on any emergency, the convocation might be assembled. He assured the clergy, that those who considered that he and the bishops wished to bring convocations into disuse, were greatly mistaken. In allusion to their con-

\* PRIDEAUX's *Life*, 102.

† *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 846, 847. CALAMY, 614, 615.

troversies, he remarked, "Such heats have given great scandal and offence, even to those who understand not the nature of the controversy, but are much concerned that there should be any differences among men, who are, by profession, the *ministers of the Gospel of Peace*\*."

Many of the clergy were satisfied with the archbishop's address: but others took a contrary view, and, meeting together two days after, chose a chairman or moderator to preside over their discussions. On the day appointed by the archbishop for assembling, this section of the clergy came to the room adjoining the Jerusalem Chamber, as a house of convocation, where they met the Bishop of Lincoln, the archbishop's commissary, who had further prorogued the assembly. They requested the bishop to convey a message to his Grace, expressive of their desire to proceed to the choice of a prolocutor. The bishop declined to be the bearer of a verbal message, lest there should be some mistake in its delivery: but he expressed his readiness to take a written statement. When they had begun to dictate a request, one of the members rose and expressed his hope, that the paper would not go forth in the name of the whole house, inasmuch as the present assembly did not constitute the house, neither could act as such without a prolocutor. They proposed, therefore, that it should run in the names of several members of the lower house. The bishop, in writing down their request, called it the request of certain members of the lower house: but the proposal was vehemently opposed by the majority, who reflected severely on the individual from whom it emanated†.

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 847.

† *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 848; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, ii., 530, 531.

The death of the king occurred shortly after, when another question was raised, whether the convocation expired with the sovereign? Some of the clergy contended, that as the parliament was to continue for a time, so the sessions of the convocation might be continued, if not as a synod, yet as a part of the parliament according to the *præmunientes* clause. The lawyers, however, decided against them, upon which they requested the Lords to pass an act for their continuance. At last, the attorney-general having stated, that such a course would be against the royal supremacy, the question was dropped, and the convocation was ended\*. "And happy had it been," says Kennet, "if all other disputes of this nature could have dropped with it."

It is painful to contemplate the proceedings of the convocation at this period: nor is it easy to decide, on whom the blame must be fixed. It must be admitted, that the bishops acted with great moderation and forbearance, while not a few of the clergy pursued an opposite course. No consistent member of the Anglican Church could, I conceive, defend the lower house in all their proceedings: but it would be unjust to condemn them altogether, or to cast all the blame upon the members of that body. Had the clergy, however, proceeded with temper, arrangements might probably have been made between them and the bishops, without the occurrence of anything unpleasant or improper. The animosities, which were then engendered, were more injurious to the Church than the schism of the nonjurors, inasmuch as internal divisions are always more fatal in their effects than external attacks.

As far as I can judge, after much consideration of the

\* *Comp. Hist.*, iii., 849 ; *TINDAL'S Cont.*, iii., 532.



subject, I conceive, that the following extracts show, in a very admirable manner, the true state of the case between the two houses. "And now a debate arose, concerning the privileges of the lower house, where a majority of the members claimed to be on the same footing, as to the upper house, that the Commons in parliament are, in regard to the House of Lords: that is, to adjourn by their own authority, apart from the upper house, where, and to such time, as they should think fit. This, the upper house, that is, the bishops, would not admit of, but insisted, that the ancient usage, which had been all along continued, was, that the president adjourned both houses together, and to the same time: and that this was signified by schedule sent down to the lower house: and that this practice they would abide by and allow of no other: and so far Dr. Prideaux concurred with them, as thinking them in the right. But as to their requiring, that the lower house should break up, as soon as the schedule came down to them, and appoint no committees to sit and act, on the intermediate days: he was clearly of opinion that in both these particulars they were wholly in the wrong: for as the bishops usually break very early, to attend the service of the House of Lords in parliament, and then sent down the schedule of adjournment to the lower house, if on the receipt of this schedule, the lower house must immediately break up also, what time could they have to dispatch the business before them\*?"

This extract appears to me to give a fair and impartial view of the state of the controversy. Two months were occupied in discussions between the two houses on this subject: and before the committee appointed to

\* PRIDEAUX'S *Life*, 103, 104.



consider it had come to any conclusion, the prolocutor died, when a new topic of controversy arose respecting the appointment of a successor. This was concluded by the death of King William, on the 8th of March, 1701-2\*.

Queen Anne's first parliament met in October, 1702: and, according to the usual practice, the convocation assembled at the same time. Dr. Aldrich, dean of Christ Church, was chosen prolocutor of the lower house. A contest arose between the two houses respecting the usual address to the throne: for the lower house was disposed to cast reflections on the late reign, which they embodied in the *form* of an address. Such a course was resisted by the bishops, and at last, an address to her Majesty was agreed upon by both houses, in which they expressed their sense of the Divine favour in placing her Majesty on the throne of these realms. The contest, however, had lasted some days before the address could be agreed upon: so that it was evident, that the same spirit existed in this convocation as had been manifested so strongly in the last. In the *form* proposed by the clergy, the bishops were clearly alluded to. It was withdrawn when the upper house refused to concur. It is indeed, probable, that the lower house did not expect, or even wish to present it to her Majesty, but merely to annoy the bishops. The queen told the convocation, in reply to the address, that "their concurrence, in this dutiful address, was a good presage of their union in all other matters, which was very desirable for her service, and the good of the Church†."

This harmony was soon interrupted, however, by

\* PRIDEAUX'S *Life*, 104.

† TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 639, 590; BURNET, v., 134.

the revival of the former disputes. The lower house requested the bishops to take into consideration the matters in dispute in the two preceding convocations, in order that, after a settlement of these various points, the business of convocation might be conducted for the welfare of the Church. The upper house replied on the 13th of November, that they were anxious to terminate all differences; that though the right of prorogation was with them, they would use it in such a manner as should conduce to peace and unity. They also stated, that with a view to the attainment of this desirable object, a committee of bishops was appointed, to meet deputies from the lower house, in order that the matters in dispute might be amicably arranged. It was proposed by the upper house, that during the intervals of sessions, the lower house might appoint committees to prepare matters for deliberation; and it was stated that the archbishop would so order prorogations, that time should be given for the transaction of business. Many of the members were satisfied with this expedient, but the majority insisted on their right to hold meetings, and to act as a convocation, during the intervals of prorogation, consequently they requested that some other proposal might be made by the bishops. They would not admit that their claims and those of the upper house in any way clashed. The upper house replied, that they had, in their judgment, offered what was sufficient, and that they could not depart from the archbishop's right. Upon this, the lower house proposed that both houses should concur in an application to her Majesty, praying her to appoint persons to hear and adjudicate upon the controversy between the bishops and the clergy; but the archbishop and bishops

replied, that they could not make any further concession, without injury to their constitution as an episcopal Church; adding, that it would be a strange sight, and acceptable to their enemies, especially to the papists, to see the convocation pleading their rights before a committee of privy council\*.

While these discussions were in progress, the lower house complained that, to their great surprise, they had been aspersed as enemies to the archbishop, and as ill affected to the episcopal rights; that, therefore, they had signed a Declaration, which they were anxious to have entered on the books. In consequence of their disputes with the bishops, they had been represented as favourers of Presbytery, so that such a Declaration was, in their estimation, necessary. It is obvious, that the circumstance of the controversy was taken advantage of by party writers for party purposes; for no one, who knows the character of the men of whom the majority in the lower house was composed, can allow that there was any foundation for the charge. They considered that their rights were somehow in jeopardy, and this consideration led them to adopt measures which no one in the present day can justify; but still, to represent them as hostile to episcopacy, and as anxious for a presbyterian parity, argued, in the persons who originated the charge, either great ignorance or great dishonesty. I feel, that thus much is due to the memory of the men, though I do not mean to imply that I view their proceedings, in meeting the charge, as unobjectionable. It might have been more dignified not to have noticed it in any way; nor can I avoid

\* *Life of Queen Anne*, i., 168—174; CALAMY, i., 635—637; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, 590, 591; BURNET, v., 135.



coming to the conclusion, that the lower house took an unfair advantage of the circumstance: for they endeavoured to entrap the bishops into a decision of a question which it was not competent for them to decide, since to have done so, would have been an infringement of the Act of Submission, inasmuch as such a Declaration would, when agreed to by both houses, have amounted to a canon or constitution, while they had no royal license to proceed in any such business.

The Declaration was to the following effect.—“Whereas, they had been scandalously and maliciously represented as favourers of presbytery, in opposition to episcopacy, they now declared, that they acknowledged the order of bishops as superior to presbyters, to be of divine apostolical institution, and that they claimed no rights but what they conceived necessary to the very being of the lower house of convocation.” It was signed by those kept the intermediate sessions.

In another address on the same day, they desired the bishops to concur with them in settling the doctrine of episcopacy, that it might be the standing rule of the Church\*. A question, it will be seen, was involved in the Declaration, which had been the subject of violent discussions ever since the Reformation, namely, the divine right of episcopacy. Probably, in the present day, consistent Churchmen will not be able to discover any great difference between the views of the Declaration, and those of the Church, as expressed in the commencement of the *Preface* to the Ordination Service, in which it is asserted that bishops, priests, and

\* TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 591; CALAMY, i., 638; SOMERVILLE, 56; BURNET, v., 137.



deacons, have always existed in the Church. Still, it was contended by many, that though the Church admitted that there had always been three orders in the ministry, she had not decided the point whether bishops were superior to presbyters by divine appointment, or only by the ordinances and practice of the Church. It would seem, to plain and unprejudiced persons, that the sentence from the Ordination Service is decisive of the question; for it positively asserts the existence of three orders of ministers, and asserts it on the authority of Scripture, as well as on that of the practice of the primitive Church. If bishops have existed from the Apostles' times, they must surely have existed as an order distinct from and superior to presbyters: and such I think must have been the views of the framers of the *Preface* to the *Ordination Service*, or they would not have joined Scripture and antiquity together as the foundation on which to rest their assertion of three orders in the Church.

At the same time, it must be admitted that it was the intention of the lower house to involve the bishops in a difficulty. The difficulty was this: supposing the bishops to concur, the point was gained; but if they refused, the bishops themselves might appear to be secret favourers of presbytery. Some members of the lower house presented an address to the archbishop, in which they disclaimed the Declaration, on the ground that such a proceeding was dangerous, though they fully concurred in the doctrines which it asserted. They stated that they doubted whether, as the Church had not declared that bishops were superior to presbyters by divine institution, they could legally assert it in convocation without the royal license. They requested,

therefore, that their protest might be entered on the books.

On the 15th of December the archbishop told the prolocutor that an answer could not, as the question was one of great importance, be returned until after Christmas. The lower house stated that they were now traduced for allowing too much to episcopacy, though not long since they had been charged with attempts to diminish it; on which account they wished the bishops to consider the subject, and to support the doctrine, by a Declaration against all Erastian or Arian theories.

While the bishops were engaged in the consideration of the subject, the lower house drew up and presented a petition to her Majesty, stating that, after the interruption of convocations for a space of ten years, several questions had arisen in the year 1700, respecting the rights and liberties of the lower house; that they had offered to submit the whole matter to her Majesty's determination, but that the proposal had been declined by the bishops. They, therefore, prayed that her Majesty would call the question into her own presence. The queen promised to take the matter into consideration, and to return them an answer as soon as possible.

When the council came to consider the subject, they found that it had been the constant practice for the archbishop to prorogue by schedule, and that the *form* could not be altered except by act of parliament. One clause in the schedule continued all things in the same state until the next day of meeting; consequently there could be no intermediate sessions. No answer was given by the Crown; and as the leading members of the administration at that time favoured the views

of the majority in the lower house, it was supposed that the answer was withheld, because it must have been unfavourable to the pretensions of the clergy, and in favour of the bishops. Others, though perhaps not very charitably, imagined that the ministers of the Crown wished to keep the debate alive, and that on this ground they declined to return an answer\*.

At length, on the 20th of January, the archbishop replied, that the *Preface to the Ordination Service* contained a declaration of three *orders* in the ministry; but that he and the bishops conceived that they were not at liberty to enact any canon or rule respecting doctrine or discipline, without the royal license. They commended the zeal of the lower house for episcopacy, and expressed a hope that they would continue to act in accordance with it in future.

The bishops saw the aim of the lower house by their Declaration; and it must be admitted that this was a most clever way of extricating themselves from the difficulty. The clergy expressed their surprise that the bishops would not say whether they did or did not concur with them in the Declaration. Parliament was now prorogued, and consequently the convocation broke up for the season.

While these disputes were going on betwixt the two houses, the controversy raged as strongly as ever through the press. Many works appeared on both sides; I have carefully examined a very large number of them, though I can do little more than mention the titles, leaving the reader to pursue the inquiry by consulting the works for himself.

\* TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 591; BURNET, v., 136; CALAMY, i., 638, 639.



Among the works published this year the following may be mentioned. *The Narrative of the Lower House Vindicated*. This was in defence of the majority in the lower house. *A Reconciling Letter upon the late Difference about Conclocational Rights, &c.* The author of this work charged Atterbury with contradicting himself in the two editions of his book. It has been stated already, that Atterbury had corrected, in a *second* edition, many of the mistakes of the *first*. The various mistakes and corrections are pointed out in the preceding work. It should be mentioned that the convocation passed a vote of thanks to Atterbury for his work. They were communicated by the prolocutor in an address; and a letter was written to Oxford by the house, in which his merits in writing the work were asserted; and it was added, "It might be hoped the university would not be less forward in taking some public notice of so great a piece of service to the Church." It was intimated that the *most proper and seasonable mark of respect* would be to confer upon him the degree of D.D. by diploma. This was accordingly done by the university\*. *The Present State of Convocation, in a Letter, giving the full relation of Proceedings in several of the late Sessions*, was in favour of the rights of the archbishop, while the views of the lower house were advocated in *The Case of the Schedule stated*. This latter work was answered in *The Schedule Reviewed*. Another work with a very long title was also published on the side of the lower house: *The Parliamentary original Rights of the Lower House of Convocation cleared, and the evidences of its separation from*

\* *Biog. Brit.*, art. ATTERBURY; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 529; CALAMY, i., 610, 611.



*the Upper House produced on several heads.* But one of the most important works of this year was the *Synodus Anglicana*, which was written by Gibson, though his name does not appear on the title-page. In this work the constitution and proceedings of convocation are illustrated from the acts and registers. It contains the registers of the upper house in 1562, 1640, and 1661; and the journals of the lower house of 1586 and 1588. All the points, especially those respecting the schedule, which had been so keenly discussed, are treated with great moderation in this valuable work, to which I refer the reader for full information on the subjects at issue between the two houses.

It has been mentioned, that the lower house did not succeed in procuring the authoritative condemnation of Burnet's *Exposition of the Articles*. The attack in convocation, however, led the way to another from the press. Several works were published, in which his positions were assailed with great severity. Probably, others were written; but I am acquainted with those only which I shall now specify. One was intituled, *A Prefatory Discourse to an Examination of a late Book, intituled "An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England;" with an Examination of some Passages in the Preface to the Exposition, by way of Appendix to the foregoing Discourse. By a Presbyterian of the Church of England.* 4to., 1702. The author states the complaints made by the lower house of convocation, specifying the heads, and enlarging upon each of them as he proceeds. He argues, that the Articles were not framed for the satisfaction of other reformed Churches abroad, but for the benefit of peace at home. The *Exposition of the Second Article* also

was attacked in a separate work, *The Exposition given by my Lord Bishop of Sarum, of the Second Article of our Religion, Examined*. 4to., 1702. Then followed, *A Vindication of the Twenty-third Article from the Bishop's Exposition of it*. Burnet replied in *Remarks on the Examination of the Exposition of the Second Article*; and a friend published *An Answer to the "Prefatory Discourses,"* and *A Defence of his Exposition of the Twenty-third Article*. Such were the works on this subject, which I mention here inasmuch as the controversy arose out of the proceedings in convocation.

From the disputes in convocation at this period the appellations *High Church* and *Low Church* originated, and they were afterwards used to distinguish the clergy. It is singular that the bishops were ranked among the Low Churchmen\*.

The convocation met with the parliament in the autumn of 1703. On the 8th of December the lower house sent a paper to the archbishop, complaining of the licentiousness of the press, and intimating also, that other matters were before them respecting discipline, though they wished the question of the books to be first considered. In another paper they complained of the inefficiency of the laws respecting the collection of church-rates, and prayed that a bill might be prepared to be presented to parliament on the subject. In the spring, the lower house presented a long paper, which had been prepared by a committee during the recess, between the 15th of December and the 4th of February. Various matters were introduced into

\* BURNET, v., 138; CALAMY, i., 643; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iv., 591.

this document, in the form, as it was expressed by the house, of heads of matters approved by them, and to be submitted to the consideration of the bishops. Among other topics of complaint, one refers to the canons, and especially to the fourteenth canon, which enjoins that the Common Prayer should be read entire, without omissions or changes. They also complain of the neglect on the part of parents and others in bringing infants to church that had been privately baptized; also of certain alleged irregularities with respect to marriages, with other matters connected with the services and discipline of the Church. One special topic related to baptism by dissenting ministers. They offered to make good all their allegations, if the upper house would permit\*.

The archbishop informed the clergy that copies of their representation should be given to the bishops, who would make a proper use of it in their visitations. The archbishop afterwards told them, that some of their complaints did not come properly within the canons. He admitted, however, that great care and diligence were necessary.

At this time Queen Anne gave up the *First Fruits* and *Tithes*, which had long been possessed by the Crown, to be appropriated to a fund for the increase of small livings. This fund is known as Queen Anne's Bounty, from which many small benefices have been increased by an additional endowment. The convocation of Canterbury presented an address of thanks to her Majesty on the occasion; and the example was

\* TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 645; CALAMY, i., 655, 656; SOMERVILLE, 88, 89. The paper is printed by Dr. Cardwell. See *Synodalia*, ii., 707—718.



followed in the province of York. The following extract from the preface to a small volume published at the time expresses, in my opinion, a just view of the value of the gift so liberally bestowed by her Majesty: "As a further demonstration of her most affectionate and tender care for the good of all that minister in holy things, she hath begun a new year of her life with declaring her generous intention to give all her revenue arising from the *First Fruits* and *Tenths*, to increase the mean and insufficient maintenance of the clergy in divers parts of the kingdom; by which charitable and gracious act she will highly adorn the Reformation made by her ancestors, and surpass them all in her munificence and royal bounty to the Church of England\*."

On the 10th of March the clergy sent up a paper to the bishops, in which they assert the right of being summoned with the parliament. They also complained that the royal writ and the archbishop's mandate had not been executed in the diocese of Bangor. On the 3rd of April the convocation was prorogued with the parliament, so that no further steps were taken respecting the complaints of the lower house†. In his closing speech, the archbishop alluded to their *representation*; and, after remarking that *visitations* were never more frequent, nor more effective, than they had been since the last open attempt to bring

\* See "A Form of Prayers, used by his late Majesty King William III. when he received the holy sacrament, and on other occasions. With a Preface by the Right Reverend John Lord Bishop of Norwich. London, 1704." GIBSON'S *Codex*, 917, 918; GREY, 316—318.

† TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 646; SOMERVILLE, 89; CALAMY, i., 657—663.



in popery, he admitted, that it was desirable that all abuses should be rectified. The sessions ended with the archbishop's speech, April 3rd, 1703-4.

The *State Services* must once more be alluded to. But besides the three services, a special form was prepared for the day of the queen's accession. It was framed partly from King James office, which was laid aside during the reign of King William, and is still retained. In an edition of the Prayer Book of 1703, the *form* is printed without the order; but in subsequent editions the order is found, bearing date the 7th day of February, 1703-4, "in the second year of our reign." On the accession of George I. and George II. the usual order was issued for the observance of the three days, dated the first year of each reign; and also the separate order for the service for the accession. In the reign of George I. one change was made in the last service, namely, the substitution of the present first lesson from the Book of Joshua, for the chapter from Proverbs, which had been appointed by Queen Anne. On the accession of George III., one order only was used for the four services, and such has since been the practice. During the reign of Queen Anne, the order for the three services was simply copied from the books of the preceding reign, the name of Queen Mary, as well as the date, being retained.

The question has sometimes been raised respecting the obligation under which the clergy lie to use these services. In the time of George I., Mr. Johnson, of Cranbrook, the author of *The Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, and several other works, was cited before the ordinary for omitting the

service for the accession. He defended himself by alleging that a proclamation had not the force of law; that the king was supreme only in his courts; and he knew of no supremacy besides. He argued, too, that a clergyman was bound to use the prescribed service, and no other. Subsequently, however, he confessed his sorrow, and yielded; so that I am not aware whether the question was ever decided. Nor do I know how a clergyman could be punished for omitting the accession service, except, perhaps, on the ground of the rubric after the Nicene creed, which enjoins that nothing be published except what is prescribed, or enjoined by the Queen; which, however, can scarcely imply a power in the Crown to appoint special services. How far this rubric could be pleaded, I cannot pretend to determine. Probably the rubric and the supremacy together are sufficient to establish the right in the Crown\*.

Several works were now also added to the list, already long, of those which had been published on this controversy. *The New Danger of Presbytery* charged the clergy with an attempt to destroy the

\* A curious mistake was made by some persons this year, in consequence of the 30th of January falling on a Sunday. The rubric was mistaken. It stands thus at present: "If this day shall happen to be Sunday, this form of prayer shall be used, and the fast kept the following day." It is a fact, that some clergymen considered themselves bound to use the service on the Sunday. Had they, however, referred to the original service, they would have discovered that it was never intended that it should be used on the Sunday. The rubric originally stood thus: "If this day shall happen to be Sunday, this form of service shall be used the next day following." So in the Act of Parliament it is particularly appointed, that when the 30th of January happens to be Sunday, the next day is to be observed.

distinction of orders between bishops and presbyters. Several pamphlets appeared on both sides; but the chief work was, Wake's *State of the Church and Clergy in England, in their Councils, Synods, Convocations, Conventions, and other Public Assemblies, historically deduced from the Conversion of the Saxons to the Present Times. With an Appendix of Original Writs and other Instruments. Occasioned by a book, intituled, "The Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation,"* &c. 1703. This is the most important work in the whole controversy, as well as one of the most valuable volumes on the subject, which was ever published. It was once said that though *truth* might be with Wake, the *appearance* of it was with Atterbury\*. Undoubtedly, Atterbury's work was fair and specious; and in some points, too, he was correct in his statements; but the position first taken by Wake, in his *Authority of Christian Princes*, respecting the powers of an English convocation since the Act of Submission, was so completely established in this learned and elaborate work, that no one has been able to shake it. Wake's work, therefore, may be appealed to as, perhaps, the most satisfactory volume on that portion of the convocation controversy. On other accounts, too, the work is most useful. It contains a copious historical narration of synodical proceedings in England from the period of the conversion of the Saxons; and we may assert, that the controversy, inasmuch as it originated this great work, was productive of good as well as of evil. The work is a folio of nearly 700 closely-printed pages, besides an appendix of original documents of 148 pages. They

\* ATTERBURY'S *Life*, 8vo., 1727, p. 17.



are numbered in the appendix 248, but it is a mistake. Long within my remembrance, nay, till comparatively a recent period, this and other works on the convocation were very common,—yea, a *drug* with the booksellers as to their sale. But now it is difficult to procure them at any price. Wake's work is scarcely to be obtained. This circumstance proves, that the subject is at all events studied; and certainly we may infer that a better state of things has been introduced.

In the ensuing autumn, 1704, the convocation was assembled with the parliament. On the 1st of December, the lower house presented another representation to the bishops, expressive of their sorrow that no benefit had accrued from the frequent meetings of convocation: and they intimate, that the cause was to be found in the disputes between the two houses. No one could dispute such a position: but the difficulty consisted in this, that the one party imputed all the blame to the other: so that no fair prospect was presented of an amicable termination of their differences. They also stated, that as no directions had been given them, they had made applications to the bishops on various subjects, instancing Toland's book. They, therefore, begged the upper house to interfere.

During the convocation a complaint was made against Burnet respecting a visitation charge, which he had delivered to his clergy, and in which he had reflected on the lower house as enemies to the bishops, the Church, and the country. The clergy called upon the upper house to interpose its authority. They also stated, that they had received no reply to their paper of the 1st of December. In his reply, the archbishop informed



them, in allusion to their paper of the 1st of December, that no license had been granted for business: that there were laws and canons in existence sufficient to punish offenders: and that the present disputes arose from the attempts of some of the clergy to disengage themselves from the authority of the bishops. He further added, that the convocation had not the power to pass such censures on books as they desired: and that it was unprecedented, that the bishops should be called to account for their conduct by the lower house of convocation. The archbishop also asked the prolocutor whether they had held intermediate sessions since the last synodical day. It was admitted that such had been the case, upon which the archbishop censured the practice as irregular, and admonished the prolocutor not to persist in such a course.

On the 23rd of February, the prolocutor told his Grace, that the lower house had considered his admonition: but that they did not conceive, that they were guilty of any irregularity in holding intermediate sessions: and that, if the admonition was intended to be judicial, they protested against it as null and void. On the 15th of March, the convocation was prorogued by the president, in a speech to the clergy, in which he told them, that the greater part of their complaints required no answer, as they had been answered on previous occasions: that their former complaint against the Bishop of Sarum was insufficient, and that the present could not be considered. He particularly mentioned that the Bishop of Sarum had referred, in the charge of which they complained, to reports circulated to the prejudice of the upper house. He mentioned that a new convocation would be summoned, and that he

should exert his authority, if necessary, in the next assembly. He said, that the bishops would be governed by the articles and rubrics, the canons and statutes, and that the honour of convocations could alone be retrieved by departing from unwarrantable claims\*.

The convocation met again on the 25th of October, 1705, with the new parliament. Dr. Stanhope preached the opening sermon, and Dr. Binks was chosen prolocutor. The composition of this convocation was similar to the former, the same members having been generally chosen†. The upper house agreed upon an address to her Majesty, in which they censured those who raised the cry of the Church being in danger, and expressed their satisfaction with the state of things under her Majesty's government. In reference to the danger of the Church, the bishops observe, that such a charge is very strange, when "several of the foreign Churches are endeavouring to accommodate themselves to our liturgy and constitution." The lower house refused to concur in this address, without assigning any reason for their refusal: and it was carried, that a separate address should be prepared. A committee was, therefore, appointed for the purpose. At their next meeting, the Dean of Christ Church presented a *form*, which was adopted, and carried up by the prolocutor on the 12th of November. The archbishop replied, that it could not be received, requesting them to retire and consider the address which had been sent down, or bring their exceptions in writing. They decided, however, that they should so notice the words

\* TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 686, 687. CALAMY, i., 665—669.

† BURNET, v. 292.

in the message from the upper house, "*We cannot receive the address you have offered to us,*" as to affirm their right of having their proposals received by the bishops. They also agreed not to depart from their former resolution of a separate address\*. A paper to this effect was accordingly presented to the upper house on the 1st of December. Thus the address was permitted to fall: and all communications between the two houses ceased. The clergy held their intermediate sessions as before. On the 16th of December, the Dean of Peterborough protested against such irregularities: and the protest was signed by more than fifty members of the lower house. Several were neutral: so that nearly one-half of the members separated from the rest, and sat no longer with them in their sessions. The protestation was not permitted to be read in the lower, but it was entered in the acts and proceedings of the upper house†.

The convocation was prorogued until the 1st of March. On the 25th of February, the queen sent a letter to the archbishop, expressive of her concern at their differences, which were rather increased than abated. On the assembling of the convocation on the 1st of March, this letter was communicated to the lower house. The queen commanded the archbishop to prorogue the convocation to such time as seemed most convenient. The members of the lower house were taken by surprise, for they do not appear to have contemplated a prorogation. Perceiving, therefore, that their sessions were to be terminated, they hastened to the door as fast as possible; nor was it without

\* *Life of Queen Anne*, i., 343.

TINDAL, iii., 733. CALAMY, 688—690. BURNET, v. 293.



difficulty that they were induced to remain until the prorogation had been duly intimated. They returned, however, to their own house, where they continued to sit for a time, though they did not venture to pass any vote\*.

It has been mentioned that the lower house would not suffer the protestation to be read: but it seems that they were not aware of the course which was taken by the protestors during the recess. The majority knew nothing of it until the 1st of March: and it was while they were engaged in deliberation respecting the protestors, that they were summoned to hear the letter from her Majesty.

Before we proceed to the next meeting of the convocation, it is necessary to allude to a letter drawn up by the lower house, to be presented to the bishops, concerning books and writings. They allude to a previous request respecting a Bill "for the more easy and speedy recovery of Church Rates." The *Review* and the *Observer* are specified as licentious publications: and the theatre is condemned for its licentiousness. They state, that a congregation of Unitarians met publicly in London, and that the preacher had denied the divinity of the Saviour. There is also a reference to the reception of the English Liturgy by foreign Churches: for at this period several of the Continental Churches expressed a readiness to adopt the ancient episcopal government: and it was considered, that the previous reception of the Anglican Liturgy would soon lead to the adoption of the Anglican discipline. The King of Prussia was earnest in the matter: but the subject was

\* TINDAL, iii., 734. CALAMY, i., 691. BURNET, v. 294. ;



permitted to drop by the queen's ministers\*. The lower house ask for information on this subject, and how the convocation may express their satisfaction and readiness to maintain a friendly correspondence, so that the interests of religion may be maintained against the common enemy. But the most important point in their letter was the notice of a sermon which had been preached by Hoadly. Thus they observe: "They do in the last place earnestly desire your lordships, that some synodical notice may be taken of the dishonour done to the Church by a sermon preached by Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, at St. Lawrence Jewry, September 29, 1705, containing positions contrary to the doctrine of the Church, expressed in the first and second parts of the Homily against disobedience or wilful rebellion."

Hoadly's case will be considered in another chapter, for no step was taken at this time, beyond the above expression of opinion of the lower house†.

A book by Hiceringill was also censured; but Wall's *History of Infant Baptism* was publicly commended. It must be admitted, that the censures of the lower house respecting books were always just; nor were their commendations of others often misapplied. On these matters their course was marked by wisdom and prudence: and the only reason which prevented the con-

\* SHARPE'S *Life*, i., 408—428, where all the particulars may be seen. GODWIN, *De Prasul*, art. TENNISON.

† This sermon was alluded to, in a debate in the Lords on the question whether the Church was in danger, by Compton, bishop of London, when Burnet remarked, that his Lordship was the last man to notice the subject, since, if the doctrine were unsound, he could not understand how his Lordship would be able to justify his appearing in arms at Nottingham; TISDALE'S *Cont.*, iii., 726.

currence of the bishops was the impression, that the convocation could not proceed to censure books in a judicial way without the royal license.

In 1707 the convocation assembled again: and after some discussion respecting the form, the lower house concurred in an address to the queen, acknowledging that the Church was safe under her Majesty. It was in this session of parliament that the question of the union with Scotland was discussed. Some of the clergy in convocation expressed their apprehensions on the subject: and committees were appointed to consider the dangers of the Church. A report was circulated, that the lower house intended to address the Commons against the measure: but to prevent any such step, the queen ordered the archbishop, on the 12th of February, to prorogue them for three weeks. Recourse was had to this expedient in order that the clergy might not interpose by any address or petition. Before the expiration of the three weeks, the bill for the union of the two kingdoms had passed both houses of parliament\*.

On assembling after the prorogation, the clergy complained, in a representation which was presented on the 19th of March to the bishops, that no such course had been pursued by the Crown since the act of submission. The representation was accompanied with a schedule containing the dates of previous prorogations, for the purpose of establishing their assertion. The document was submitted to the queen. On the 2nd of April the archbishop informed them that their statement was not correct: that the records had been searched: and that seven or eight similar prorogations had taken place

\* TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iii., 794; BURNET, v., 336.

during the meeting of parliament, while there were thirty or forty more, from which it appeared, that the convocation sat sometimes before and sometimes after the parliament\*. The archbishop again prorogued the convocation until the 10th of April: but the lower house continued their intermediate sessions. On the 8th of April the queen wrote to the archbishop, remarking that the representation of the lower house was an invasion of her supremacy. On the 10th of April, when the clergy were summoned to hear the queen's letter, the members appeared without their prolocutor: and, in reply to the question relative to the cause of his absence, it was said that he was gone into the country. The archbishop, therefore, proceeded to pass a sentence of contumacy against him for his absence, reserving, however, the declaration of the penalty until the 30th, to which day the convocation was prorogued by a schedule supported by a royal writ. Before that day a protestation was signed by some of the clergy: and on the day appointed for the meeting it was presented to the archbishop. In this document they stated, that it was the opinion of counsel, that no process commenced before a prorogation by royal writ could be continued. It was brought up by the prolocutor: and it was voted in the lower house, that the sentence of contumacy and the proceedings after the prorogation by writ were unlawful, and an invasion of the royal supremacy. The prolocutor, however, though urged by the majority to stand his ground, thought fit to submit to the archbishop, when the sentence was removed†.

\* TINDAL, iii., 794, 795; BURNET, v., 336, 337; CALAMY, i., 713.

† TINDAL, iii., 795; BURNET, v., 337; CALAMY, i., 714.



On the 18th of April, Tennyson addressed a circular to all his suffragans on the questions agitated in the convocation. In this circular is contained also the queen's letter of the 8th of April. The archbishop mentions all the particulars connected with the proceedings, desiring the bishops to communicate them to their clergy. In this letter, therefore, the application of the lower house on the 19th of March is contained, and the archbishop states that the schedule of which they speak was not presented till the 26th. In the next place, the archbishop states that the upper house would cause an answer to be drawn up, but that they deemed it right not to take any further step in such an important matter, until her Majesty's pleasure should be known\*.

No other matters were transacted in this convocation. The members of the lower house were so refractory, that it was not possible to proceed with business. It was dissolved with the parliament.

Much has been said, in the preceding pages, of the controversy which was carried on between Atterbury, Hill, and others, on the one side, and Wake, Kennet, and Hody, on the other; but there were some privileges recognized by both parties as necessarily belonging to the convocation. It is pleasant to find such a man as Brett taking a dispassionate view of the question. In allusion to a chapter in his work on *Provincial Synods*, he remarks, "I thought it, therefore, necessary, according to the best of my understanding, to vindicate those rights of an English convocation which have on all sides been asserted to belong to them; I mean such as Bishop Wake, Dean

\* CARDWELL'S *Documentary Annals*, ii., 359—364.



Kennet, Dr. Hody, *Synodus Anglicana*, and those gentlemen who are most moderate in their pretensions have allowed. For which reason I have industriously avoided the making any quotations from the author of the *Letter to a Convocation-Man*, or from Dean Atterbury, or Mr. Archdeacon Hill, lest it might be said that they challenge more than the inferior clergy, or even provincial synods, ever had a right to. Though I do not conceive they challenge more in any material points than what the others allow\*."

\* BRETT *On Church Government. Preface.*

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CHAPTER XIII. A.D. 1708—1714.

Convocation, 1708. Another, 1710. Atterbury Prolocutor. License for business. Queen's Letter, containing subjects. They proceed to Business. Whiston's Case. Powers of Convocation in cases of Heresy. Judges consulted. Eight agree that Convocation has Jurisdiction in cases of Heresy. Four take an opposite view. The view of the Majority adopted by the Government. Whiston's book condemned. Condemnation not confirmed by the Crown. Topics discussed. Prorogation. Convocation meets. Lay-Baptism. New Parliament and Convocation, 1713. License for Business. Topics. Dr. Clarke's Case. A Form for the Reconciliation of Converts from Rome. Queen's Death. Books. The Healing.

THE convocation was convened, with the new parliament, in 1708, but it was prorogued by a royal writ, from November to February, even before the customary sermon had been preached. But even then no business was transacted, and it was prorogued from time to time during this whole session of parliament\*.

We come, therefore, to the year 1710, when the convocation was assembled on the 25th of November. The sermon was preached by Kennet, and published by command of the archbishop†. Atterbury, however, was chosen prolocutor, in opposition to Kennet, who was proposed by the moderate party in the convocation.

\* SOMERVILLE, 126, 338; BURNET, vi., 15; CALAMY, i., 720.

† KENNET'S *Life*, 105.

Both these individuals had been engaged in the preceding controversy, and they were regarded as the leaders of their respective parties, so that the choice was decisive as to the views of the majority. On the 12th of December, the queen, in a letter to the archbishop, expressed her hope that the convocation would be able to repress the loose principles which had been broached, intimating that she should afford them every encouragement in her power. From the tone of the letter it is clear that Atterbury's influence prevailed, through the minister, when it was prepared. On the 23rd of January a license for transacting business was issued, by which the convocation were empowered to consider such matters as she should submit to their notice. It was accompanied by a letter to the archbishop, stating that the convocation were allowed to confer, treat, debate, and consult and agree, upon matters to be laid before them. It also contained certain heads of subjects for discussion. They were these:—

“The drawing-up a representation of the present state of religion among us, with regard to the late excessive growth of infidelity, heresy, and profaneness.

“The regulating the proceedings in excommunications, and reforming the abuses of commutation money.

“The preparing a Form for the visitation of prisoners, and particularly condemned persons. For admitting converts from the church of Rome, and such as shall renounce their errors. For restoring those who have relapsed.

“The establishing rural deans, where they are not, and rendering them more useful where they are.

“The making provision for preserving and transmit-

ting more exact terriers, and accounts of glebes, tithes, and other possessions and profits belonging to benefices.

"The regulating licenses for matrimony, according to the canon, in order to the more effectual preventing of clandestine marriages\*."

The letter was dated the 29th of January, 1710, from St. James's Palace.

It should be observed that there had been a change in the administration, so that the lower house were more in favour with the government than had formerly been the case. There was a change too in the license, for the archbishop was not, as was usual on former occasions, nominated president; neither was he consulted, previous to its being issued. Certain bishops were also mentioned as a *quorum*, before whom, it was understood, that all matters were to be brought. The records were searched, and the report submitted to the queen, after which a message was returned, to the effect that she did not intend that the bishops named as a *quorum*, should preside in or have a negative on their deliberations†. It was supposed that Atterbury, who was in the confidence of the premier, was the cause of these proceedings.

The convocation at length entered upon the matters submitted to them in the queen's letter. In the lower house the state of the Church was the question which was first agitated. It was agreed, that a representation on the subject should be drawn up; but after a little progress had been made, and a few heads settled, it was further agreed, that the whole business should be left to Atterbury. Entrusted with such powers, he

\* *Life of Queen Anne*, ii., 333, 339; WILKINS, iv., 636, 637.

† BURNET, vi., 82, 83; TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iv., 207.



drew up a paper, in which the administration, ever since the Revolution, was reflected on in terms of great severity. It was carried, as a matter of course, in the lower house, but rejected by the bishops, who ordered another to be prepared in more general terms. Other matters were discussed and settled in one house, but not being sanctioned by both, nothing was concluded.

At this time the attention of convocation was directed to the views entertained and advocated by Whiston, the mathematical professor at Cambridge. Burnet calls it an incident. "An incident happened," says he, "that diverted their thoughts to another matter." He was removed from his post in Cambridge by the university, after which he published a vindication of himself, and dedicated it to the convocation. From what has been stated in previous chapters, the reader will gather that it was doubtful what the powers of the convocation were in a case of heresy. The lower house, however, proceeded to take it into consideration, and in March presented a paper on the subject to the archbishop. The particular book in question was entitled, *An Historical Preface to Primitive Christianity revived*. They stated that it contained assertions opposed to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith. The archbishop addressed the bishops on the subject, agreeing in opinion with the clergy, that the book should be noticed by convocation, and stating that two points were especially to be considered; *first*, the censure of the book and its doctrines: *secondly*, the censure of the author. To censure the book two things were necessary: *first*, to examine it and to make a selection of passages: *secondly*, to fix the passages of Scripture, in the council of Nice, and in the Thirty-nine Articles, upon which a

charge of heresy might be grounded. The archbishop also stated, that the book might be censured in convocation, provided certain difficulties were removed, especially the Act of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, from which it would seem, that all jurisdiction respecting heresy was annexed to the Crown. There was also another difficulty, namely, that the High Commission Court, in which such matters had been adjudicated, was suppressed after the Restoration, when it was enacted, that no similar court should be erected. So that it was necessary to consider whether the revival of the judicial authority of the convocation was the erection of such a court. Two other methods presented themselves in such a case: *first*, the archbishop might hold a court of audience, his suffragans being present, and then examine into and give sentence in the cause: or *secondly*, the bishop of the diocese might cite the offender into his own court. The archbishop considered that the two last-mentioned plans were encumbered with the fewest difficulties. Another letter was addressed by the archbishop to the bishops, dated the 11th of April, 1711, containing one from Whiston to his Grace. As the case was involved in difficulties, the upper house presented an address to her Majesty on the subject, stating the offence alleged against Whiston, namely, that he had advanced certain positions which were damnable and blasphemous against the doctrine of the Trinity, expressly *contradicting the two fundamental articles of the Nicene creed, and defaming the whole Athanasian*. They then express their desire to repress blasphemy, according to the powers granted by her Majesty's license: but that certain doubts have arisen respecting their powers. They were especially in doubt

on one point, namely, whether an appeal would lie from the convocation to the Crown, the convocation being a final court, and appeals from it not being specified in the Statute of Appeals in the time of Henry VIII., while the statute of Elizabeth annexed all jurisdiction to the Crown. Under these circumstances they beseech her Majesty to submit the case to the consideration of the judges\*.

Accordingly the judges were consulted: and *eight* of the *twelve*, with the attorney and solicitor-general, concurred in opinion that the convocation had a jurisdiction in cases of heresy. They agreed that there was, by common right, an appeal to her Majesty from all ecclesiastical courts, by virtue of the supremacy, whether given by express words of an act of parliament or not: that such power had not been taken away by act of parliament: and that consequently a prosecution in convocation, not excluding an appeal to her Majesty, was not inconsistent with the Act of the 1st of Queen Elizabeth. They further agreed, that jurisdiction in matters of heresy might be exercised in convocation, no law, as they believed, having taken it away. But a reservation was made. They stated that, "This being a matter, which upon application for a prohibition on behalf of the persons who shall be prosecuted, may come in judgment before such of us as have the honour to serve your Majesty in places of judicature, we desire to be understood to give our present thoughts with a reserve of an entire freedom of altering our opinions, in case any records or proceedings, which we are now strangers to, shall be laid before us, or any

\* TINDAL'S *Cont.*, iv., 207; CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, ii., 755—759.



new considerations, which have not occurred to us, be suggested by the parties, or their counsel, to convince us of our mistakes."

Four of the judges came to a different conclusion. They gave it as their opinion, that since the Statute of Appeals in the time of Henry VIII., the convocation had no jurisdiction in cases of heresy, but that the ecclesiastical courts, from which appeals would lie to the Crown, were the proper places in which such matters should be decided. They thought, that such a power in the convocation would be an invasion of the rights of the archbishops and bishops in their various courts.

Her Majesty's council adopted the views of the majority of the judges: and an answer to that effect was addressed to the archbishop, so that the convocation was authorized to proceed. There were other difficulties respecting the author, namely, whether the lower house were to take a part in the proceedings, or whether the sentence should be confirmed by the convocation of York. In consequence of these difficulties, the bishops resolved on commencing with the book, for on that point no doubt now existed as to their jurisdiction. Their inquiry was to ascertain whether it contained positions contrary to Scripture and to the decisions of the *first four* general councils, which are the standards appointed by law in cases of heresy\*.

Under these circumstances the book was proceeded with. Certain propositions were extracted and censured as *Arian* in their tendency; and having been agreed upon by the bishops, they were sent down to the lower house, who concurred in the censure, so that

\* TINDAL, iv., 208; BURNET, vi., 85.



the passages were condemned by the authority of the whole convocation. In one passage Whiston asserts, that *the Arian doctrine on the subject of the Trinity was the true doctrine*: in another, that when the Scriptures speak of one God, *they mean one supreme God the Father only*: in others, that *the Son is inferior and subordinate to the Father*, that *the Son was created only before the world*, and that *the Holy Ghost is inferior and subordinate to the Father*. Other positions of a similar kind were also [extracted, and embodied in the judgment or censure of the convocation. They, therefore, concluded:

“We do declare, that the above-mentioned passages do contain assertions false and heretical, injurious to our Saviour and the Holy Spirit, repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, and contrariant to the decrees of the two first General Councils, and to the Liturgy and Articles of our Church.”

On the 30th of May the prolocutor presented a letter to the bishops, which had been addressed to him by Whiston, and delivered by Emlyn, the Unitarian preacher, at the door of the convocation-house. In this letter he asks for a copy of the propositions extracted from his writings. The request was considered to be reasonable by the lower house, who agreed that he should be permitted to make *his explication and apology* respecting the extracts. They concluded with a request, that he should be cited before the convocation for that purpose.

The judgment of the convocation was sent to her Majesty, who promised to take it into consideration; but on the 12th of June the convocation closed, and no answer had been forwarded. When the convoca-

tion assembled in the ensuing winter, two bishops were deputed to wait upon the queen for the purpose of obtaining her assent to the censure; but an excuse was made that the document could not be found. Other messengers were afterwards sent; but it was said that the queen could not remember to whom she had given the paper. Thus, under the shelter of the Crown, Whiston escaped altogether. The book was condemned by the convocation; but the condemnation could not be carried into effect, because it was not confirmed by the Crown. Burnet expresses his satisfaction that nothing was done; but, surely, to suffer the matter to be altogether laid aside was not the way to support the Anglican Church or the cause of religion\*.

We must now retrace our steps a little, in order to consider some other proceedings of this convocation. We have seen that the *representation* on the state of the Church, drawn up by Atterbury, and sanctioned by the lower house, was rejected by the bishops, who ordered another to be prepared. When it had been confirmed by the upper house, it was sent down to the clergy, who refused to adopt it; and in consequence of these differences, no paper of the kind was presented to her Majesty.

The topics recommended by the queen were considered by the upper house, and certain regulations, founded upon them, were adopted. A report was agreed upon by both houses respecting excommunications and the commutation of penance; also concerning services, glebes, and tithes: and several points

\* TINDAL, iv., 208—254; SOMERVILLE, 426; BURNET, vi., 86—131; CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, ii., 764—769.

were considered by the two houses separately. Certain questions respecting rural deans were discussed in both houses; and some points were settled after mutual conferences. It was suggested, that a canon should be drawn up to define and fix their duties, and making a special provision that they should be clergymen beneficed in the diocese. The bishops suggested that the clergy should select persons to fill the office, subject to the approval of the bishop; and it is singular, that the lower house proposed an alteration, recommending that the choice should be in the archdeacons, instead of the clergy\*. After several papers had passed between the two houses, the business dropped. The last paper from the lower house was dated June 5th; and the convocation was prorogued on the 12th; so that nothing was actually concluded except the condemnation of Whiston's book.

In the autumn of the same year, 1711, the parliament was again convened; and the convocation assembled in December. Some doubts were expressed whether the queen's license continued in force after a prorogation. The attorney-general considered that it did; and accordingly the bishops resumed, and proceeded with the business which had been suspended by the prorogation. They, therefore, sent back a letter which had been forwarded to them the previous year, having made certain amendments. Atterbury, however, contended that everything must be commenced afresh in consequence of the prorogation, as was the case in parliament. This objection led to a search into the books, when it was clearly ascertained that a contrary practice had prevailed, and that

\* CARDWELL's *Synodalia*, ii., 738—753.



the schedule of prorogation continued all things in the same state until the next meeting. Still the lower house, at the instigation of Atterbury, refused to concur in the view taken by the bishops, and consequently the subjects suggested by the queen were not proceeded with\*.

A motion was made in the lower house to censure a sermon of Dr. Brett's, in which he had advanced some very strong views on priestly absolution. The motion, however, came to nothing. The question of *lay baptism* was also introduced into the lower house, many of the members contending that it was not valid. The bishops, therefore, drew up a declaration on the subject, in which they assert the irregularity of all baptism not performed by persons in holy orders; but they declared at the same time, that, according to the practice of the primitive Church and the usage of the Church of England, baptism with water, and in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, should not be repeated, even though the ordinance had been performed by a *layman*. The Archbishop of York agreed at first to this declaration; but afterwards refused his signature, on the ground that it would encourage irregular baptism. It was agreed to in the upper house, with the exception of the Bishop of Rochester and the Archbishop of York; but the lower house refused even to take it into consideration.

\* TINDAL, iv., 254; BURNET, vi., 131; WILKINS, iv., 637—654. During the year 1711 several works were published on the controversy which had so long existed between the two houses. *The Mitre and the Crown, or a Real Distinction between them, in a Letter to a Reverend Member of the Convocation*; and *A Continuation of the Mitre and the Crown*, in 1712, were in favour of the independent rights of the convocation. Both these productions, however, are written in a moderate tone.



Their reasons for refusing appear to me to be wise and prudent. They were to this effect: that the Catholic Church, and the Anglican Church in particular, had hitherto avoided any synodical determination on the subject; that the inconveniences attending such a determination would outweigh the convenience proposed, especially at a time when the authority of the Christian priesthood and the succession in the ministry were openly denied, or undervalued. Waterland admitted, that the Church did not determine either way. The matter was, therefore, permitted by the convocation to remain in the state in which the Church had previously left it, though in her practice she allows of no baptism not performed by a regularly ordained minister\*.

But though the Church of England has not synodically declared against the validity of *lay-baptism*, yet she never gave any countenance to baptism by those who dissented from her communion. A case occurred in the Court of Arches, in 1841, in which the court decided that dissenting baptism was the same as lay-baptism, against which the Church has not decided. It is said, therefore, that the Church allows of *lay baptism*. In the early Church, undoubtedly, it was allowed in cases of necessity. Many testimonies on this head are given by Bingham. The *rubrics* in the *first* and *second* books of King Edward, and also in that of Queen Elizabeth, leave the matter doubtful. The persons present were to call upon God, and one of them was to dip the child in water. In consequence of this *rubric*, *laymen* and even *midwives*, did sometimes, in cases of danger,

\* *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, i., 372—376; TINDAL, iv., 255; BURNET, vi., 134; KENNET'S *Life*, 112.

administer the sacred rite: and such *baptism* was not disallowed. At the period of the Hampton Court conference, there was a doubt whether *laymen* were allowed to baptize: so that it is evident that the practice was not then continued. The king remarked, "If called private from the place, I think it agreeable with the use of the primitive Church: but if termed private, that any besides a lawful minister may baptize, I utterly dislike it." The Archbishop of Canterbury argued that it was not allowed by the Church: but the king replied, that the *rubric* must intend to give permission to private persons to baptize. The Bishop of Worcester said, that the compilers of the book did not so intend: and the Bishop of London stated that they intended to allow it, in cases of necessity. The Bishop of Worcester added, that the compilers propounded the words ambiguously, because, otherwise, the book might not have been sanctioned by the parliament\*.

But it can scarcely be said that the *rubrics* sanctioned the practice, for they must be interpreted by the Articles: and the Twenty-third declares, that it is not lawful for any one to take upon himself to preach and minister the *sacraments*. By this article, therefore, a *layman* was no more at liberty to administer one sacrament than the other. But in the year 1575, the convocation, as has been previously stated, declared that the sense of the Church was against the practice: and in 1604, when the *revised* Book of Common Prayer was published, the question was set at rest by an alteration of the *rubric*, by which the administration of the rite is confined to *lawful ministers*. It is singular too, that at the Hampton Court conference, the Puritans argued

\* BARLOW'S *Account of the Conference*. FULLER, x.

against *baptism* by *laymen*. It is clear, therefore, that the *rubrics*, in the old Books of Common Prayer, were not always interpreted so as to countenance *lay-baptism*. At the same time that the practice existed there can be no doubt whatever: and when once it had been administered, no matter by whom, the rite was not to be repeated.

It is argued by some, that though the Church discourages *lay-baptism*, she does not pronounce it null and void\*. But this argument is not satisfactory: for by the alteration of the *rubric*, and the substitution of the words *lawful minister*, the Church has surely declared against the practice, even though she has not put forth a public declaration on the subject. The catechism too, seems to confirm this position: for it declares that the sacraments are only *generally necessary to salvation*, not *essentially necessary*. Consequently, in the judgment of the Church of England, *baptism* is not *absolutely* necessary to salvation, but only *generally* necessary, as a duty, whenever it can be properly administered by a lawful minister, according to the *rubric*.

But this question of *lay-baptism* is totally different from that of *baptism* by dissenters. It is admitted, and must be admitted, that the Church never sanctioned the practice except in cases of absolute necessity. How then can necessity be pleaded in the case of dissenters? In the cases in which it was allowed by the Church, the rite was administered in a private chamber, when the child was in danger, and a clergyman could not be procured; whereas, dissenting *baptism* is publicly administered to children in health, and in places where the ministers of the Church are ready to administer that sacrament.

\* SHARP on the *Rubrics*, 41.



as often as they are called upon to do so. It may be remarked, that the dissenter argues that *his baptism* is as valid as our own. The parties, however, who wish to place *dissenting* on the same footing with *lay-baptism*, are members of the Church of England.

There is another consideration, which ought not to be lost sight of in this matter. It is this: the *baptism* by laymen in England, subsequent to the Reformation, was still administered by members of the Church, not by persons in a state of separation. Though, therefore, the Church did, in cases of necessity, admit of *lay-baptism*, she never could have contemplated *baptism* by dissenters: for the parties who performed it were her own members. This is a point of great importance in the controversy. In the case of *lay-baptism*, as formerly allowed, its validity rested, not on any supposed right of the person to baptize, but on the authority of the ecclesiastical governors, who permitted the practice. I am aware, that, by the decisions in the Court of Arches, a clergyman is bound to read the funeral service over persons who have been baptized by dissenters: but this is quite a different question, and in no way affects the other question, whether the Church admits the validity of baptism when so administered. The law of the land may impose a duty on the ministers of the Church, and they readily perform the duty: but it by no means follows from this circumstance, that the Church recognizes *dissenting* as *valid baptism*.

The parliament was summoned in February, 1713: and the convocation met on the 16th. Both houses concurred in an address to her Majesty. Dr. Stanhope was chosen to the office of prolocutor. Her Majesty had recently recovered from an alarming illness, and the



two houses, in their address, congratulated her on her recovery, praying also that her life might be continued, and that after a long and happy reign, she might be able to transmit the protection of the Church and State to a protestant *successor*, in the *illustrious house of Hanover*. The address was presented on the 6th of March: and on the 17th, the convocation was authorized, by a royal letter, to proceed to business. Certain *heads* or *topics* were suggested in this letter, namely, the regulation of proceedings in excommunications, the preparation of *forms* for the visitation of prisoners, for admitting converts from the Church of Rome and for restoring those who had relapsed, for the establishment of rural deans, together with the regulation of terriers and marriage licenses\*.

The bishops undertook the regulation of the abuses in excommunications, the preparation of *forms* for the visitation of prisoners, for admitting converts from Rome, and for restoring those who had relapsed. The other matters were left to the consideration of the lower house. On the 8th of July, the convocation was prorogued by the bishop of London, who acted as president. He thanked the clergy for the progress they had made in the business submitted to their consideration. Certain points respecting excommunications had been agreed upon by both houses: but he observed, that they could not be submitted in a perfect form to the queen at present, though they would be laid before her in their present state. The bishops expressed their hope, that at the next meeting the other heads would be so finished, that canons might be framed and full effect given to them, by the subscription of both houses.

\* *Life of Queen Anne*, i., 574—576. CARDWELL, ii., 776.

In the following spring the convocation assembled again, when their attention was directed to the writings of Dr. Samuel Clarke. It appears that he was in the habit of omitting portions of the Liturgy. On Trinity Sunday, 1713, in order to avoid reading the proper Preface in the Communion Service, he omitted the administration of the Lord's Supper altogether, at which many persons were greatly distressed. The queen was offended at his conduct, and removed him from his post of royal chaplain. His *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity* was also published, in which certain unsound positions were maintained; and these two circumstances, the publication of the book, and the omission of the communion, made it clear that he held some strange opinions respecting the doctrine of the Trinity. The lower house, therefore, applied to the bishops on the 2nd of June, 1714. They stated that the book was at variance with the catholic faith of the Church of England; and further, they requested the upper house to take the matter into their most serious consideration. The bishops requested them to specify the obnoxious parts in writing: and on the 23rd of June they presented a paper of extracts, declaring their belief that the passages fully supported their representation respecting the erroneous character of the book.

At this stage of the inquiry, Dr. Clarke drew up a qualifying paper concerning his faith, and presented it to the upper house. In this paper a different view was maintained from that which was conveyed by the extracts from the book; he also promised not to preach on the subject, nor yet to publish any other books on the Trinity. In this declaration he stated that the third and fourth petitions in the Litany had never been

omitted in his church, and that the Athanasian Creed had not been omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but only at early prayers, for the sake of brevity, by his curate, and not by his own appointment.

Soon after, the doctor sent a second explanation to the Bishop of London, in which he declared that his views, as expressed in the former paper, were not different from those which he had maintained in his books. He desired, therefore, that the declaration might be so understood, and not as a retractation of any thing which he had written.

The upper house expressed themselves satisfied with these explanations, and informed the lower house that they did not think fit to proceed further with the extracts submitted to their notice. The lower house, on the contrary, resolved that Dr. Clarke had made no retractation, and that his paper was not satisfactory\*.

Some other matters were transacted in this convocation, though nothing was confirmed. *A Form for admitting Converts from the Church of Rome, and such as shall renounce their errors*, was prepared. It is destitute of authority, because it was not regularly carried through both houses; but it is occasionally used in the case of converts from the Church of Rome. Our bishops may indeed use on such occasions any form which may commend itself to their own judgments, or they may prepare a form for their own use; but it is probable that a prelate would prefer this, inasmuch as, though not binding, it has been partly sanctioned by a convocation. It was drawn up at the command of the queen, probably by Archbishop Wake.

\* *Life of Queen Anne*, ii., 581—587; *TINDAL'S Cont.*, iv., 412—414; *SOMERVILLE*, 564.



The *Form*, moreover, is admirably adapted for the purpose. It is very comprehensive, very pointed, and very scriptural. The questions proposed to the converts relate to the Scriptures as containing all *doctrine requisite and necessary to eternal salvation, to the articles in the Apostles' Creed*, and to the renunciation of the errors of the Church of Rome. It would be unnecessary to cite all the questions and answers from this Service, though all of them are exceedingly suitable to the occasion for which they are intended; but the following may be taken as a sample of the whole:—

Do you earnestly desire to be received into the communion of this Church, as into a true and sound part of Christ's holy catholic Church?

*Answer*—This I earnestly desire.

Do you renounce all the errors and superstitions of the present Church of Rome, so far as they are come to your knowledge?

*Answer*—I do from my heart renounce them all.

Do you in particular renounce the last twelve Articles added in the Confession, commonly called the Creed of Pope Pius the Fourth, after having read them and duly considered them?

*Answer*—I do, upon mature deliberation, reject them all, as grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.

Will you conform yourself to the Liturgy of the Church of England?

*Answer*—I will.

Then the bishop, or priest, standing up, shall say—

Almighty God, who hath given you a sense of your errors, and a will to do all these things, grant also unto you strength and power to perform the same, that He may accomplish his work which He hath begun in you, through Jesus Christ.  
*Amen.*

There are other questions suited to those who re-



nounce their connexion with any other sect, and join the communion of the Anglican Church. The Service is printed in Wilkins, and also in Cardwell.

Another *Form* was prepared under this title, *An Exhortation to be read in the Church when the person decreed to be excommunicated is present*. There were, however, certain passages within brackets, which were to be omitted in those cases in which the offending parties were not present.

These matters, with others which had been recommended by the Crown, were in progress, when their proceedings were stayed by the death of the queen, which took place on the *first* day of August, 1714.

In connexion with the subjects of *Penance*, *Excommunication*, and certain other kindred topics, which were discussed in convocation during this reign, I would notice two very valuable works, published, the one in 1703, the other in 1714; the former under the title, *The Church of England's Wish for Restoring of Primitive Discipline*; the latter, *The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*\*. They are written in a tone of great moderation, and the subjects are discussed with much learning. Whoever peruses them with candour will be impressed with a sense of their importance. In both there are allusions to the convo-

\* The titles at length are as follows:—"The Church of England's Wish for Restoring of Primitive Discipline: considered, in order to its being brought to effect. On which occasion is shown the Institution, Nature, End, and Necessity, of Discipline in the Church of Christ." London: 8vo., 1703. "The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church, for the first Four Hundred Years after Christ, together with its Declension, from the Fifth Century downwards to its present State, impartially represented. By a Presbyter of the Church of England." London: 8vo., 1714.

cation; and it is clear that the two volumes originated in the discussions which took place in that assembly. The author of the second work observes, "This, therefore, is humbly propounded to the two houses of convocation, that they would begin to answer the great hopes which have been conceived of their perfecting what is wanting to us. The juncture looks favourable, the eyes of the world are upon them, and somewhat is expected, proportionable to their own great abilities, and to the encouragement they have from a gracious queen, to exert them. Private men may write and wish, but *they* only can (as 'tis fit *they* only should) execute\*."

There is one subject which, though not connected with the convocation, yet, as having been revived during this reign, may require some notice. I allude to the alleged cure of *scrofula*, or, as it was formerly called, *the king's evil*, by the *royal touch*, and to the *form* republished in the reign of Queen Anne, with this title, "*At the Healing.*" I allude to it especially, because it has sometimes been imagined that the Church had sanctioned the *form* of prayer, and consequently the practice. A brief sketch of the subject may, therefore, appropriately be introduced.

The tradition is, that the kings of England and of France were invested with the power of curing this disease by their touch, derived, according to the story, from Edward the Confessor, to whom even the French sovereign was indebted for the privilege. We may deem it very extraordinary, that our ancestors entertained such a notion; yet such was the fact. They believed that the gift was derived from Edward the Confessor,

\* *Penitential Discipline*, p. 5.

by succession, to all our kings and queens. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, William Tooker published *Charisma, sive Donum Sanationis*, which he dedicated to her Majesty, as containing an account of the cures which had been effected by the royal touch. The book was published in 1597. Tooker states that he was present, for some years, whenever the queen touched for the disease; and he gives several stories of persons who, according to his narrative, were completely cured. He relates of one individual, that, though a papist, he had still gone to the queen to be touched; and that, as he had been perfectly cured, he was convinced by his own experience, that the pope's excommunication was of no moment, since no cure could have been effected if she had not been rightful queen\*.

But the most remarkable volume, on this subject, was published at the close of the reign of Charles II., by one of the king's surgeons. The terms *liber rarus* may be strictly applied to this volume, for it is not only very curious, but also very uncommon. It consists of three books, with a general title, besides a separate one to each portion of the work. In the *first* and *second* books the author treats of the disease medically; and in the *third*, which is the curious part of the volume, he enters upon the question of the *royal touch*†. Its statements are truly absurd; yet the

\* STRYPE'S *Annals*, iv., 438—440.

† The following is the title of the *third* book of this extraordinary and absurd production: "Charisma Basilicon, or the Royal Gift of Healing Strumaes, or King's Evil, by Contact, or Imposition of the Sacred Hands of our Kings of England and of France, given them at their Inaugurations. Showing the Gift itself, and its continued Use; declaring all Persons healed thereby, without any respect either to their Age, Sex,



author details them with all possible gravity, contending that this gift is retained to the Church by means of our kings. In the preface he states, that the book had been examined and allowed by his Majesty's physician, and by the other surgeons of the court. It is written in a most flattering style. Thus he calls Charles "the great parent of our health and safety, who hath as far exceeded his predecessors in this curative faculty as King Edward did his ancestors; who, as he was given to us for our health, and the health of our nation, so in this curative faculty he outshines all the world. And as he takes in him the ruling power by which he governeth by an hereditary right from his royal ancestors, so he continues the same by this balsamick and sanative power, derived to him from his royal forefathers inherent in him\*." The author must have been a believer in the virtue of the royal touch, or an arrant hypocrite, for he says, "Because I have been oft conversant and attending at many of these laudable operations, having waited on his sacred person both at public and private healings, as one of his meanest chirurgeons, when I have seen many thousands of poor souls touched and cured by his sacred hand, I am obliged, both by duty and conscience, to give my faith to his royal touch, seeing the daily and unanswerable effects thereof; many of which, as if amazed at

Temper, or Constitution; with the Manner, Form, and Ceremonies thereof. The whole concluded with about sixty admirable Cures, performed with and without Gold, by His Majesty's Benediction, by His late Majesty's pretious Blood, and the like. Written by John Browne, Chirurgeon in Ordinary to His Majesty. 8vo., London, 1684."

\* *Charisma Basilicon*, 76, 77.



the speedy farewell of their diseases, have immediately been cured to admiration, even in the presence, before they have got out of the Banqueting-house, at *White-Hall*, where his Majesty doth most usually heal." He says, that a usurper could not exercise the gift; that Cromwell tried, and failed. Cromwell was too shrewd a man to believe the thing; and if he made the attempt, he must have done so to satisfy others; and it is probable that Charles II., whatever may have been the case with his surgeons, secretly laughed at the folly of the people.

This author, too, gives directions to be observed by those who wish to be admitted to the royal touch. Among other things, they were to bring a certificate from the minister and churchwardens of their parishes that they were never touched before. He even goes so far as to recommend that printed certificates should be sent to the bishops, who should be requested to sign them, and then forward them to their surrogates\*.

The *form* used by Charles II., and by his predecessors, is given by this credulous surgeon, who expatiates largely on his Majesty's piety and humility. It is somewhat different from the *form* used by Queen Anne. The author then gives an account of a large number of persons, as many as sixty, who, he affirms, were cured, some by the application of the blood of Charles I., and the rest by the touch of Charles II. At the close of the volume, a list of the numbers touched every month, from 1660 to 1664, is given from the register kept by the serjeant of the Chapel Royal. There is, also, a second list, including the numbers of persons who had been touched from May, 1667, to May, 1682, from

\* *Charisma Basilicon*, 35.

another register. During the year 1682, 8557 persons were touched by his Majesty; and the whole number from 1660 was 92,107. According to the author, most of them were perfectly cured. His account of the performance of the ceremony is curious. The patients were placed in order by the yeomen of the guard; after which, on the entrance of the king, the chaplain commenced with the service. At a certain part of the ceremony, the sick persons were presented to his Majesty, on their knees, who placed his hands on their heads, and then the service was concluded by the chaplain. A portion of gold was given to each person by the king, which may serve as a clue to the whole; for, undoubtedly, the great majority were attracted by the money more than by the expectation of a cure. The author has also illustrated the matter by a *plate*, in which his Majesty is represented in the act of touching a patient, the chaplains and surgeons being in attendance. The volume is one of the most absurd productions of that or of any other age; and it is difficult to decide whether the author was a believer in the *royal touch*, or a hypocrite and flatterer\*.

He was not alone in his belief, however, (if a believer at all,) for before him Heylin, and subsequently Collier, men who cannot be suspected of hypocrisy, avow their belief in the efficacy of the royal touch. Fuller had expressed a doubt upon the subject, and Heylin, in his animadversions on his *History*, says, "But certainly what effect soever the strength of fancy and an *exalted imagination*, as our author calls it, may produce in those of riper years, it can contribute nothing

\* *Charisma Basilicon*, 132, &c.

to the cure of children. And I have seen some children brought before the king by the hanging sleeves, some hanging at their mother's breasts, and others in the arms of their nurses, all touched and cured without the help of any such fancies or imaginations as our author speaks of\*." Collier, after quoting Heylin, remarks, "Thus we see the kings of England are miraculously distinguished not only from their subjects, but from all the princes of Christendom, excepting those of France, who have a share with them in this extraordinary privilege†." Carte, too, was a believer in the virtue of the touch in such cases. He notices the opinion which had been entertained, that the power was communicated to the kings in the anointing at their coronation: but he adds, "I have myself seen a very remarkable instance of such a cure, which could not possibly be ascribed to the regal unction." He then relates a story of a young man, a native of Wells, in Somersetshire, who quitted Bristol for Paris, in 1717, and was touched by the Pretender. Carte states, that the man was cured as soon as he was touched, though he adds, that "this descendant and next heir of their blood, had not been either crowned or anointed‡." Carte was undoubtedly, as a friend to the exiled family, a willing believer in the efficacy of the touch of the Pretender. Still, that such a man should have been so credulous may well excite our surprise. It appears, that the subject was sometimes alluded to even in the pulpit. Thus in a sermon, in 1660, the preacher says: "*Is there no balm in Gilead?* Yes, there is: and therefore let us hope well of the healing of the wounds of the daughter of our people,

\* HEYLIN'S *Examen*, 47. † COLLIER, ii., 226.

‡ CARTE'S *History*, i., 291, 292.



since they are under the cure of those very hands, upon which God hath entailed *a miraculous gift of healing*, as if it were on purpose to raise up our hopes into some confidence, that we shall owe one day to those sacred hands, next under God, the healing of the Church's and the people's evils, as well as of the king's\*."

In the reign of Queen Anne some persons were touched for this disease. The nonjurors asserted, that the virtue or power was in the exiled line: and this circumstance may have led the queen's ministers to countenance the thing; for we can scarcely suppose, that they were believers in the efficacy of the royal touch. We know that Dr. Johnson, when a child, was taken to the queen for that purpose. But the most extraordinary circumstance connected with the subject in this reign, was the printing of the office, used on such occasions, with the Book of Common Prayer. There was a service, which had been used probably from a very early date, though it was, of course, destitute of all authority. It was used, too, in Queen Elizabeth's time. This *form*, with some alterations was printed, in the reign of Queen Anne, with the Prayer Book. I have not seen it in books of an earlier date than 1709, though probably it may exist in earlier. In one edition of that date, it is printed at the end: but in another of the same year, it is actually printed on the same page as the Articles, thus forming a portion of the

\* *A Sermon, at Westminster, at the Consecration of Bishops*, by W. S. 4to., 1660. p. 33. The author was no less a person than Sancroft. Aubrey, too, was a firm believer in the efficacy of the touch: and he relates certain instances in his curious work. That he should have believed it, however, will surprise no one, since he appears to have given credit to anything wonderful. See AUBREY'S *Miscellanies*.



Book of Common Prayer. Such, too, is the case with others of later date. But what is still more remarkable, in an edition of the Common Prayer, in 1715, the first year of George I., this *Form for the Healing* is also printed on the same page with the commencement of the Thirty-nine Articles. Whether it is found in books later in that reign I cannot determine. My impression is, that it is not: and I am of opinion, that the *form* was retained at first, simply on the authority of the printer, who followed the books of Queen Anne, no order being given to discontinue the practice.

The *form*, however, is altogether unauthorized: and the wonder is, that it ever found its way into the Prayer Book. The subject was never discussed in convocation: so that we may infer, that the clergy were not believers in the tradition respecting the royal touch. Nor was it authorized formally by the queen in council. It must, therefore, have been surreptitiously introduced, for some reason or other, by those to whom was entrusted the superintendence of the printing office in the reign of Queen Anne. It is evident, that the *touching* was revived in order to create the belief that Queen Anne was entitled to the crown by descent, according to the tradition that the gift descended on all the sovereigns from Edward the Confessor. Thus it was noticed in the newspapers: "Yesterday the queen was most graciously pleased to touch for the king's evil." So on her visit to Bath, several were touched in private, because it could not conveniently be done in public. "To make the thing more serious," says Tindal, "an office is inserted in the Liturgy, to be used on this occasion\*."

\* TINDAL'S *Conf.*, iii. 592.

The old *form* commenced with the Gospel for Ascension Day, Mark xvi., verse 14. The words, "They shall lay their hands on the sick and they shall recover," were repeated with each individual. Then a second Gospel was read from the *first* of John: and at the words "That light was the true light," &c., the king put the gold about the necks of the patients, the words being repeated in every case. Certain *versicles* were then used, and also the Lord's Prayer: after which other *versicles* with responses to be used by the sick followed. So far all the copies of the ancient form, as far as I have examined them, agree: but at this point, namely, the concluding prayer, there is a difference. Our author, Browne, gives one form, and Heylin gives another, though both are to the same effect\*.

In the time of Queen Anne, an alteration was made, but by whom, it is not easy to ascertain. The form, as it stands in the Prayer Book, in her reign, is as follows.

AT THE HEALING.

Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings, &c.

The Gospel, Mark xvi., ver. 14.

Let us pray.

Lord have mercy upon us.

*Christ have mercy upon us.*

Lord have mercy upon us.

Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.

*Then shall the infirm persons, one by one, be presented to the queen upon their knees, and as every one is presented, and while the queen is laying her hands upon them, and putting the gold*

\* The old form may be seen in HEYLIN'S *Examen*, 48, 49; COLLIER, ii., 226, who copies it from Heylin. BROWNE'S *Charisma Basilicon*, 99, 100; and SPARROW'S *Collections*. See also WILKINS, iv., 476.

about their necks, the chaplain that officiates, turning himself to her Majesty, shall say these words, following.

God give a blessing to this work: and grant that these sick persons on whom the queen lays her hands, may recover, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

*After all have been presented, the chaplain shall say,*

*Vers.* O Lord save thy servants,

*These answers* *Resp.* Who put their trust in thee.

*are to be made* *Vers.* Send them help from thy holy place.

*by them that* *Resp.* And evermore mightily defend them.

*come to be* *Vers.* Help us, O God of our salvation:

*healed.* *Resp.* And for the glory of thy name, deliver us, and be merciful unto us sinners, for thy name's sake.

*Vers.* O Lord, hear our prayers.

*Resp.* And let our cry come unto thee.

Let us pray.

O Almighty God, who art the giver of all health, and the aid of them that seek to thee for succour, we call upon thee for thy help and goodness mercifully to be shewed upon these thy servants, that they being healed of their infirmities, may give thanks unto thee in thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

*Then the chaplain, standing with his face towards them that come to be healed, shall say,*

The Almighty Lord, who is a most strong, &c. (*From the Visitation of the Sick.*)

The grace of our Lord, &c.

It will be seen that this form varies from the older service. Its rubrical directions are more explicit: and it assumes a more complete shape: so that some pains must have been bestowed upon it, in the reign of Queen Anne, before it was printed.

I have introduced the subject in this chapter, for two reasons: *first*, as a matter of curious inquiry: and *secondly* and especially, for the purpose of showing

that the Church is in no way responsible, either for the *service* in question, or for the practice. Though printed with the Book of Common Prayer, yet the *form* was of no authority whatever. It has sometimes been adduced, as an evidence of superstitious practice, on the part of the Church of England, in a former period : but from the foregoing remarks, it will be seen, that whatever may have been the case with individuals, the Church never gave her sanction to any practice to which the charge could be properly applied. And after all, the belief that there was efficacy in the *royal touch* was not so absurd as that of some persons in modern times, who vie even with the Church of Rome herself, in claiming for themselves and their party, under the plea of being the *true Church*, the gift of healing, not one only, but all kinds of diseases.

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## CHAPTER XIV.—A.D. 1714—1741.

George I. Convocation assemblies. License for Business. Form for consecrating Churches. Various Forms. Consecration of Communion Plate. Convocation adjourned. Meet in 1717. Hoadly's *Preservative* and *Sermon*—Considered in Convocation. Representation of Lower House. Prorogation. Bangorian Controversy. Works. Controversies arising out of the main one. Kennet's with Nicholson. Subsequent Proceedings. Suspension of Synodical Business.

QUEEN ANNE was succeeded by the Elector of Hanover, George I., according to the terms of the Act of Settlement; and the first parliament and convocation of the new reign were assembled in March, 1715. Both houses concurred in an address to his Majesty, which was presented on the 7th of April. The king assured them that he should always support the Church of England, and further, that it would be his especial aim to encourage the clergy. The usual sermon at the commencement of this convocation was preached by Gibson, subsequently Bishop of London. It was printed in 1717, with his *Tracts on Visitations*. In the same volume is another *Tract*, which was drawn up by Gibson, and probably read in convocation, on the same subject as the sermon, namely *excommunication* \*.

On the 5th of May the king's letter or license, authorizing the convocation to proceed to business, was communicated to the houses, containing the following heads of business.

\* GIBSON'S *Tracts*.

The regulating proceedings in excommunications and commutation of penances.

The making provision for preserving terriers and accounts of glebes and tithes.

The regulation of marriage licenses, with a view to the prevention of clandestine marriages.

The preparation of a Form for the consecration of churches and chapels.

The settling the qualifications, titles, and testimonials of candidates for orders.

The making the 75th Canon, relating to sober conversation in ministers: the 47th Canon, relative to curates: and the 48th, touching licences, more effectual.

Rules for the better instruction of youth for confirmation.

The bishops undertook to prepare the matters relative to marriage, the consecration of churches, candidates for orders, and confirmation, the others being left to the lower house. Both houses proceeded with their labours, and some progress was made, when their proceedings were interrupted by the case of Hoadly, which issued, as will be seen, in a determination on the part of the Crown not to permit the convocation to transact synodical business. In the month of August a book was examined by the lower house, on *The Difficulties and Discouragements which attend the study of the Scriptures*, which was censured as treating of sacred things in a profane manner. The bishops promised to take the subject into their consideration, but this, like all other matters, was prevented by the controversy which followed.

In the month of July the bishops had prepared the *Form of Consecrating Churches, Chapels, Churchyards, or*

*Places of Burial.* A *Form* had been drawn up in 1712 by order of Queen Anne, but the business was commenced afresh in this convocation. In a letter, dated June 21, 1712, Tennison writes that he had received the *Form*, and subscribed it, adding, that before his name he had left a space, that the following words, if judged expedient, might be introduced: "This *Form* of Consecrating, &c., hath passed both houses of convocation, and so is approved\*." It is said that this *Form* of 1712 was subscribed by both houses, and approved by her Majesty; but in all probability the matter was not fully settled, otherwise the business would not have been recommenced at this time. The *Form* of 1714 was approved by the bishops, and certain amendments were proposed by the lower house; but this also was prevented from being completed by the proceedings respecting Hoadly.

The two *Forms*, that of 1712, and that of 1714, are substantially the same, though in some few points they differ from each other. It is, however, evident, that the service of 1714 is only a revision of that of 1712. Still we have no duly-authorized *Form* for the consecration of churches, and our bishops are left to the exercise of their own judgments. They may adopt either of the above-mentioned *Forms*, or they may prepare a special one for any occasion that may arise. At the Reformation, when our various services were compiled, churches were not wanted, or the Reformers would undoubtedly have prepared a *Form* for their consecration. At length, when new churches were erected, the want was felt. Bishop Andrews was the first to prepare a regular *Form* for the purpose. It was

\* CARDWELL'S *Synodalia*, ii., 819.



used by himself and some other bishops, and also by Archbishop Laud, with some alterations, at the consecration of the church of St. Catherine Cree, which was not forgotten at his trial. This *Form* is printed at the end of SPARROW'S *Rationale upon the Book of Common Prayer*.

Before the time of Bishop Andrews, it appears that the bishops were accustomed to compose a particular *Form* whenever a church was to be consecrated. King, bishop of London, composed a prayer, which he used in 1615, at the consecration of a chapel at Edmington; and the same *Form* was used in 1616, by the Bishop of Chester, in the parish of Barking, in Essex\*.

Some steps were taken towards the preparation of a *Form* by the convocation in 1662, though nothing was finished. The next notice, with which I am acquainted, of anything connected with the subject, occurred in 1704, when the Chapel of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, was consecrated by Patrick, bishop of Ely. He used a *Form* somewhat different from that of Bishop Andrews. It was evidently drawn up by himself, for it was printed at the end of the sermon which was preached on the occasion. It was published, too, by the bishop's permission. No man was better qualified for such a work than Patrick. In the service, published on that occasion, there was a prayer which Patrick used in the consecration of the communion plate, which was as follows:—

“Most blessed God, accept, we beseech thee, of the oblation we make unto thee of these vessels, which we humbly dedicate to thy divine service at thy holy table; and as we now wholly give them up to thy use

\* COLLIER, ii., 709.



in the ministration of the holy communion of Christ's body and blood, so we pray thee to receive them for thine own; preserve them from being any way profaned: and being here set apart and consecrated by our office and ministry to thy service, let them always continue to be so employed, through Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour. AMEN\*."

It appears that Archbishop Saneroff, at the request of Mr. Kettlewell, consecrated some communion plate, in the reign of James II., for the church of Coleshill, of which the latter was vicar. The prayer used on the occasion is preserved; and this and the service used by Patrick are the only *Forms* with which I am acquainted which have been used on such occasions†.

The subject was again taken up in the convocation of 1712, as has been already stated. It would seem that the convocation were led to the subject by the parliamentary grant for the erection of *fifty* new churches in London and its vicinity, some of which were nearly ready for consecration. Probably, the new churches were consecrated according to this form: yet neither this nor that of 1714 possesses any authority. The *form* of 1712, which I believe has been generally fol-

\* "A Sermon preached at the Consecration of the Chapel of St. Katherine's Hall, in the University of Cambridge, September 1, 1704, by John Long, B.D., and Fellow of the said Hall. To which is added the Form of Consecration used by the Lord Bishop of Ely." Cambridge, 4to., 1704.

† KETTLEWELL'S *Life*, 137, 138. Mention is also made in a note in the same work of a *Form of Dedication of a Church or Chapel*, printed for John Hartley, in Holborn, 1703. This *form* I have not seen; consequently, I am not able to state whether it differs from that of Bishop Andrews, or whether it came before the convocation in 1712 or 1714. There may be other *forms*, with which I am not acquainted.

lowed, was first printed by Lewis in his work on the consecration of churches. This work is most valuable, and especially at the present moment, when this and similar subjects attract so much attention\*. The *form* of 1714 is printed by Dr. Cardwell. These are all the scattered notices which I have been able to collect respecting the consecration of churches. I have put them together as matters of considerable interest to those who are desirous of looking into the proceedings of convocation.

In the lower house a *declaration* was agreed upon "to make the 75th canon more effectual." Both houses also concurred in an address to the king, thanking his Majesty for the provision which he had made for maintaining the ministers of the fifty new churches. The convocation was adjourned in September, and did not meet for business until January, 1716. Tennyson's death interrupted the proceedings; and after Wake's appointment to the vacant see of Canterbury, another warrant for business was issued on the 28th of April.

We proceed, therefore, to the year 1717, the year so

\* As Lewis's work is not common, I shall transcribe the title, which will describe the nature of the volume:—"An Historical Essay upon the Consecration of Churches; with an Account of the Form and Ceremonies of Consecrations among the Jews, Heathens, and Christians; describing the magnificent Feasts and Entertainments upon those joyful Occasions; and proving the Antiquity of those Anniversary Festivals called Wakes, observed in Country Villages, in memory of the Consecration of their particular Churches. To which is added, a Form of consecrating Churches, Chapels, and Churchyards, passed in the Lower House of Convocation, 1712, with a Design to have it established among the Offices of the Liturgy, and compiled chiefly for the Consecration of the new Churches. Copied from the Journal of the House, and never before made public." London, 1719.

memorable in the history of English convocations, since the controversy now originated, which led the government to put an end to all synodical business. From that time no license or warrant to proceed to synodical acts has been granted. The causes of that determination on the part of the government are now to be detailed.

Before I proceed in the narrative, I would remark, once for all, that this part of the history is derived from a careful perusal and examination of the original works on the subject—works published at the time, which, though very numerous, I have endeavoured to peruse for the purpose of presenting a clear and succinct account of those proceedings which led to the setting aside of the convocation as a synod for the transaction of business.

In the year 1716, when some of the clergy and laity were averse to the existing government, wishing for the restoration of the exiled line, Hoadly, who, since his former controversy, had been raised to the episcopal bench, published *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors both in Church and State; or an Appeal to the Consciences and common Sense of the Christian Laity*. The commencement of the work partly explains the writer's object, and the cause which induced him to enter upon a course which would necessarily expose him to attack. It is as follows:—

“After near thirty years of such patience and indulgence as was never yet experienced in any nation of the world by the public and avowed enemies of its government, the *nonjurors* now at length think it time to open the scene, for which they have been long preparing the way, in a more covered and private manner. Whe-



ther they imagine that all the lenity with which they have hitherto been treated, hath been nothing else but fear and a consciousness of wrong, or that their own cause is for ever lost, if this crisis of time be not laid hold on; whatever it be, the establishment is now openly and directly charged with the want of all right. Their cause is now publicly declared to be the cause of God. The Church is made a principal part of the argument. The words *unity, schism, altar, excommunication, damnation*, and the like, are thrown about in such a manner as to confound the understanding of honest men of low capacities. In these circumstances I have a mind, as far as I am able, to point out to you the true way of judging of what they are now perpetually offering to you upon these heads."

Hoadly proceeds to state what he considers the foundation of the difference between the two parties. I wish to observe, however, that though I quote his words for the sake of the narrative, which is correct, I by no means subscribe to his opinions, which on many points were of a lax and dangerous character. He adds—

"The foundation of our difference is this:—In the year 1688 the nation, the whole nation of Protestants, universally and equally, felt and saw themselves on the brink of destruction. The chief men among us invited over the assistance of our neighbours. After having warded off the present threatening ruin, nothing remained but to secure us from the return of the same evils of popery and slavery, made more terrible by the revenge which must then have come along with them. This was done with the greatest regard to the constitution of the kingdom, and with the least deviation from the common rule. The popish branches of the royal



family were set aside, upon no other consideration than the safety of the whole nation. And the very first Protestant branches in the same royal family were declared heirs; and the succession from them declared and confirmed, in the same course as was usual before\*."

To this passage most men will cordially subscribe. He goes on to say :

"Upon the first settlement of the nation some of the bishops, and some also of the inferior clergy, refusing to give the common security of faithfulness and allegiance to the government, and declaring themselves in the interest of its enemies, were first *suspended*, and then, after a delay of six months, *deprived*. From hence arose these two main principles—that our princes upon this Protestant establishment, in exclusion to the popish line, can have no right to the crown; and the other, that no deprivation of bishops by the lay power can be valid or ought to be submitted to. And from these two principles arose two points of practice—the *one*, the adhering to the popish line; and the *other*, the adhering to the communion of the deprived bishops, and the treating of our churches as no churches\*."

Hoadly then remarks that the nonjurors did not disclose their real sentiments at first, because there was the expectation of seeing the restoration of King James by means of the power of France. He, therefore, set himself to oppose the *nonjurors*, and to defend the Revolution settlement.

On the 31st of March, in the ensuing year 1717, the bishop of Bangor preached a sermon before his Majesty, in the Chapel Royal, at St. James's, on John xviii., 36:

\* HOADLY'S *Preservative*, p. 6. † *Ibid.*, p. 7

"Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world." This *Sermon* and the *Preservative*, both being framed on the same principles, were very obnoxious to many of the clergy, and even to some who were not ill-affected to the settlement of the crown in the Protestant line. The question was discussed, therefore, in the lower house of convocation; and a committee, consisting of *Mosse, Sherlock, Cannon, Davies, Friend, Bisse, Dawson, Spratt, and Barrell*, was appointed to draw up a report on the subject. They entered upon their task on the 3rd of May, and on the 10th the report was submitted to the house. It was addressed to the archbishop and bishops as the *Representation* of the lower house; and it stated, that the Bishop of Bangor had given grievous offence by advancing certain doctrines and positions in the works to which allusion has already been made. The lower house state that the tendency of the two works is conceived to be—

"*First*, to subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion.

"*Secondly*, to impugn and impeach the regal supremacy in cases ecclesiastical, and the authority of the legislature, to enforce obedience in matters of religion, by civil sanction\*."

Passages from the *Preservative* and the *Sermon* were

\* See a Report of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, appointed to draw up a Representation to be laid before the Archbishops and Bishops of the Province of Canterbury, concerning several Dangerous Positions and Doctrines contained in the Bishop of Bangor's *Preservative*, and his *Sermon*, preached March 31st, 1717; read in the Lower House May 10th, 1717, and voted, *nemine contradicente*, to be received and entered upon the Books of the said House. London, 1717.

adduced in proof of these two positions, and the archbishop and bishops were requested to interpose. At this stage of the business, before it was even presented, the government deemed it necessary to interfere: and before any progress could be made, the convocation was prorogued until the 22nd of the ensuing November; so that as far as the two houses were concerned, the matter was now concluded.

Such, however, was not the case out of doors. The *Preservative*, the *Sermon*, and the *Report* of the lower house, were extensively circulated throughout the kingdom, almost all the clergy taking one side or other in the controversy. Editions were multiplied to an unusual extent. My copy of the *Preservative* is, the *third* edition, though printed in the same year as the *first*. I have also the *twelfth* edition of the *Sermon*, published in the year in which it was preached; and the *fourth* edition of the *Report of the Lower House*, also of the same year. It is evident from these facts, that the controversy attracted unusual attention. The first person, who took the field in opposition to Hoadly, was Dr. Snape, whose *Letter*, occasioned by the *Sermon*, appears to have been as widely circulated as the preceding works. My copy, though printed in the same year, 1717, is of the *twelfth* edition. I have also the Bishop of Bangor's *Reply* to Snape, which is of the same date, and yet the *tenth* edition.

It was immediately reported that Hoadly had solicited the government to interpose by a prorogation, in order, that the inquiry might be stopped. To this report the bishop gave the most unqualified denial. He speaks of it in the following terms:—

“As soon as I heard of the intention of some in the



lower house, I had no other thought, desire, or resolution, but to answer in my place before the same house, to which this accusation was designed to be brought; and before those worthy prelates, to whom the appeal was to be made. But it was thought proper to put a stop to the sitting of the convocation; which (because it has been unkindly and industriously represented as the effect of my solicitation, and an argument of my fear, and what I fled to for refuge, I am obliged to declare before the world) was done, not only without my feeling, but without so much as my knowledge, or even suspicion of any such design, till it was actually resolved and ordered\*."

In this *Preface*, the bishop states, that the *Representation* was not confirmed by the lower house. "The reader," says he, "is desired to observe, that the *Representation*, to which the following book is an *Answer*, was drawn up by a committee of the lower house of convocation; and never approved of by the lower house, so as to be made the act of it; though many have been led to think it was, by the low *artifice* made use of in the *title-page* to the printed copy of it†."

There is, however, reason to believe, that the *title* states only the truth, namely, that it was read and ordered to be entered on the books; so that the *Representation* must be regarded as the act of the whole house, and not merely of the committee, as the bishop

\* See "*An Answer to the Representation*, drawn up by the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, concerning several Dangerous Positions and Doctrines contained in the Bishop of Bangor's *Preservative and Sermon*. By BENJAMIN, LORD BISHOP OF BANGOR," *Pref.* 4, 5.

† *Ibid.*, p. 3.



insinuates. It must be evident, too, that the majority would have concurred in that representation; and had not the government taken the same view, it was not probable that they would have interposed by a prorogation.

The interruption of the business, therefore, in the convocation, was the signal for war through the medium of the press. The controversy is now known as the Bangorian controversy. Many pamphlets and volumes appeared in rapid succession, until the combatants, wearied with the strife, ceased to engage in the contest, or were laid in the silent grave. Snape, Sherlock, Law, and Cannon, were the bishop's principal opponents, though several other individuals took part in the controversy: on the other side were Hoadly himself, Sykes, and Whitby, with others of less note. By the former, the views of the *Representation* were defended; by the latter, the bishop's positions were asserted and maintained.

Sherlock, as has been mentioned, was one of the committee of convocation. It will be remembered, that he had evinced some hesitation, at the period of the Revolution, respecting the oaths. It has been stated, in a preceding chapter, that his scruples were removed by the perusal of Overall's *Convocation Book*. On the 5th of November, however, 1712, Sherlock preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor at St. Paul's Church, in which certain positions were advanced, which, it was alleged, were exactly similar to those which had been condemned from the Bishop of Bangor's books. The Bangorian controversy now took a new turn, for Sherlock was attacked for inconsistency, in now condemning as false what he had

advanced as true in 1712. Of the large mass of pamphlets on the Bangorian controversy, which have fallen under my notice in preparing for this work, several relate to this branch of the dispute. Thus, in the same year, 1717, Sykes addressed *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Sherlock, one of the Committee of Convocation, &c., comparing the dangerous positions and doctrines contained in the Doctor's Sermon preached November 5, 1712, with those charged upon the Bishop in the late Report of the Committee.*" Sykes wittily placed upon his title-page the following texts: *That which I do, I allow not.*—Rom. vii. 15. *And Happy is he that condemneth not himself in the thing which he alloweth.* Rom. xiv. 22.

Sykes remarks, that Sherlock had taken so active a part in the convocation, that an examination of his conduct was excusable, adding, "If my lord bishop be guilty of what you have charged him with, the Dean of Chichester is guilty of the same crime\*." He then proceeds to an examination of Sherlock's sermon, placing certain passages in juxtaposition with some of those selected for censure by the committee of the lower house from Hoadly's *Preservative* and *Sermon*, for the purpose of showing that the views of the bishop and the dean are identical. In my opinion, Sykes succeeded in proving the inconsistency of Sherlock, for I cannot perceive any difference between the views of the sermon on the 5th of November and those of the Bishop of Bangor. Sherlock published a reply, in which he endeavoured to show that his views, as expressed in the sermon, were not identical with those which he had joined in condemning. Sykes replied in a *Second Letter*, in which he reiterated the charge.

\* *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Sherlock, &c., p. 6.*

It will, I think, be difficult to discover any difference in the following passages, which I give merely as a sample.

THE REPORT, p. 10.

*From Hoadly.*

"If any men upon earth have a right to add to the sanctions, of his (Christ's) laws, that is, to increase the number or alter the nature of the rewards and punishments of his subjects in matters of conscience and salvation, they are so far kings in his stead, and reign in their own kingdom, and not in his."

SHERLOCK'S SERMON,

Page 8.

"'Tis just reasoning to infer from the spiritual nature of Christ's kingdom, and the spiritual power of his ministers on earth, that temporal punishments are not proper to enforce the laws and edicts of Christ's kingdom, for since the kingdom is not of this world, the powers belonging to this kingdom cannot be of this world."

The controversy was conducted with great bitterness of spirit, and with much asperity of language. So strongly did the government feel on the subject, that the names of Snape and Sherlock, the two most violent of Hoadly's opponents, were struck from the list of royal chaplains.

Besides the main points in the controversy, it also branched out into others of a personal character, so that on some occasions the original dispute appeared to be forgotten in individual quarrels. One of these was of a very painful kind. In his *Second Letter*, Dr. Snape asks, whether Hoadly had not submitted his sermon to an individual before it was preached, and whether it had not been altered, at that individual's suggestion, by the insertion of certain qualifying expressions by way of caution. The bishop denied that such



was the case. He had previously stated in his reply to Snape's *First Letter*, that the sermon had been preached without the knowledge of any living man. In his *Second Letter*, therefore, Snape quitted the argument, and attacked the bishop on this point, alleging, that if Hoadly replied in the negative, he would produce a person as high in station as his lordship, who would prove the affirmative. When challenged by the bishop, Snape mentioned the name of Dr. Hutchinson, who had heard it from the Bishop of Carlisle. The bishop, according to Hutchinson, had said that he had conversed with the individual, to whom the Bishop of Bangor had submitted his sermon, and who had recommended the insertion of such qualifying words as *properly* and *absolutely*. At first the Bishop of Carlisle argued with Snape, that he had not said that the words were inserted before the sermon was preached, but before the publication; and he acknowledged that he was acquainted with a person who had put forth that statement. On being pressed to mention the name of the person, he gave that of Dr. White Kennet, who positively denied that he had ever stated that the sermon was submitted to his inspection, or altered at his suggestion\*. The Bishop of Carlisle, however, asserted publicly through the press, that Dr. Kennet had actually assured him that the words were inserted by his advice. He allowed Snape to publish a passage, adding that it was *true*.

Being marked out in such a singular manner, Kennet published an *Advertisement*, dated July 6th, 1717, in which he stated, "I do hereby declare and avow, in the most solemn and serious manner, that

\* KENNET'S *Life*, 167, 168.



the Lord Bishop of Bangor never did ask or receive any advice of mine in the preaching or publishing that sermon, nor did I ever read or hear any part of it, till the whole was printed and published to the world. And I do further declare and protest, that (God so now help me, and hereafter judge me) I never did say or suggest any such thing to any right reverend prelate, or to any man alive. I believed the contrary, and affirmed the contrary before ever I saw or heard of any advertisement about it\*." He also denied it in a *Second Advertisement*. There is, indeed, every reason to believe, that Nicholson, the learned Bishop of Carlisle, was altogether mistaken. The circumstance, however, occasioned the publication of several pamphlets, which may be regarded as a sort of off-set from the Bangorian controversy. It was unlikely that Hoadly should consult Kennet, with whom he does not appear to have been on terms of intimacy. Further, Hutchinson, who related the story from the Bishop of Carlisle, did not understand it of Dr. Kennet. It is remarkable, too, that the Bishop of Carlisle wrote several letters to Kennet, after the subject had become the topic of conversation, without even hinting that he should have occasion to name him in the business. The bishop, too, was at some loss in fixing the time and the place, when and where the alleged story was related to him, though at length he mentioned that it was told him in Kennet's study. It appears that the Bishop of Carlisle was greatly incensed against Hoadly, in consequence of his *Preservative* and his *Sermon*; and in conversations on the

\* KENNET'S *Life*, 214, 215.

subject, Kennet had endeavoured to moderate his Lordship's feelings, declaring especially his disapprobation of the conduct of the clergy in attacking a bishop, and adding, that the sermon was guarded with *saving* or *qualifying* words, such as *properly* and *absolutely*. In all probability, the Bishop of Carlisle may have heard, that some person had perused the sermon before publication, and he might imagine that Dr. Kennet was the individual, simply from his defence of the Bishop of Bangor. So strongly did Kennet feel on the subject that he inserted a clause in his will, that he neither "said, nor thought any such thing.\*"

After some little time, Hoadly published an *Advertisement*, charging the Bishop of Carlisle with forgetfulness, in asserting a fact which was not true, and producing a witness for it who knew nothing of the matter†.

It would be foreign to my purpose to enter further into the Bangorian controversy. The pamphlets are so numerous that few persons have even seen them; and it is certain, that few would be tempted to undertake their perusal. This controversy, though other circumstances undoubtedly contributed something towards the decision, induced the government to suspend the regular synodical business of convocation. From that time no royal license has been granted; consequently, no synodical matters have been transacted. The convocation assembles with every parliament; but the meeting is merely formal. At the same time, it exists, and nothing is wanting to enable it to proceed to business, but the permission of the Crown.

\* KENNET's *Life*, 168—175, 179. † TINDAL's *Cont.*, iv., 539.

This chapter may be closed with a brief notice of some transactions subsequent to the year 1717. The controversy raged through the press with great fury for a considerable time; nor were the old subjects of dispute, relative to the powers of the two houses, forgotten. There are some matters which can be transacted without a license from the Crown, such as addresses to the throne, and other kindred subjects. In the year 1728, therefore, the upper house made a declaration, or decree, on the subject of the archbishop's claims, which had been disputed by the lower house. They stated that, as their connivance might be interpreted into an acquiescence, they declared, "That the method of continuing the lower house is irregular, and contrary to the plain tenour of the archbishop's schedule, and to the known practice of convocation, and such as doth manifestly tend to establish an independence of the lower house upon the upper." It was added, "If it be thought that this declaration ought to have been made sooner, it will be considered how long the prorogations have been made in pursuance of royal writs; and also, that the upper house had hopes that the clergy of the lower house would of themselves return to the regular methods."

It was thought at this time that there was an intention of permitting the convocation to act. Probably, too, such would have been the case, if the clergy had evinced a disposition to submit to the archbishop. The advancement, too, at a later period, of Potter, who had written a learned *Treatise on Church Government*, to the see of Canterbury, confirmed some persons in their opinion that the synod would be permitted

to transact business. While these sentiments were entertained, the convocation assembled in 1741. The lower house seemed inclined to comply with the views of the archbishop, for they consented to stand prorogued by his Grace's schedule, not to hold intermediate sessions, and to be discontinued during the session of parliament, whenever his Grace might deem it necessary. At this time, therefore, it was considered that they had returned to what had been termed by the bishops, "a sense of duty;" but on the motion being made of certain matters to be submitted to their consideration, another resolution, to the effect that the propositions, though they had been prepared in obedience to the orders of the house, should not be received, was put and carried.\* Thus the matter terminated in the convocation; nor has any business, beyond matters of form, been transacted since that time; while no *license* has been granted since the prorogation in 1717.

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\* REYNOLDS's *Essay*, 241.



## CHAPTER XV.

The Question of the Revival of Convocations considered. The Revival shown to be reasonable, and for the benefit of the Church. The Question of Changes in the Liturgy considered. Alterations to be deprecated. The attempt to change not to be apprehended. Reasons for this conclusion. Candles on Communion-table. Arrangement of Services. Articles. Canons. Topics suggested. Psalmody. Conformity. Consecration of Churches. Suffragan Bishops. The Government recommended to revive the Convocation. Conclusion.

HAVING traced the history of Anglican councils from the earliest period until the year 1717, when the convocation ceased to act synodically, I shall devote this chapter to the consideration of certain topics, which could not be introduced in the body of the work without interrupting the connexion of the narrative. One very important question arises, namely, is it desirable that the convocation should be permitted to act? They are assembled with every parliament, and nothing is required to enable them to act but the royal license. Nor could the Crown apprehend any danger from the deliberations of such a body, since no business can even be entertained without its concurrence. It is certainly desirable that they should be permitted to act at certain seasons; not, perhaps, during every session of parliament, but whenever anything might arise which could be better settled in a convocation than in another assembly. The subjects would be recommended by the Crown, while no decision would be of any force until sanctioned by the queen. At any moment a check might be inter-

posed, supposing—which is not likely—that either house should be disposed to cast difficulties in the way of the settlement of such questions as might be brought under their consideration. That it would be for the advantage of the Church, therefore, for the convocation to meet, must, I think, be admitted by every unprejudiced person. The Crown, indeed, must recommend, and then confirm, before any measure could become the law of the Church. Thus the government could not be inconvenienced, even if the convocation should act counter to its recommendations, for the remedy is in their own hands, namely, a prorogation. Nor can it be imagined that, supposing the convocation to pursue such a course, the government would incur any odium by putting an end to their deliberations. On the contrary, the odium would attach to the clergy, as unreasonable men, who would not be satisfied with what was just and practicable. On this ground, the government would be perfectly safe. But really there is no cause for any such apprehension. The Crown would not recommend any proceedings which would not be calculated to advantage the Church; nor would the convocation reject any such measure recommended by the Crown.

Another question arises, namely, what business could they transact? It must be borne in mind that all matters would be submitted to the convocation through the archbishop as president. The archbishop and the Crown, therefore, would decide upon the measures; the former would act with the concurrence of his suffragans, while the Crown would be guided by the experience and advice of the metropolitan. And it is certain, that any measure recommended by his Grace would be sanctioned by the lower house.

In this closing chapter, a few topics may be suggested for consideration, in case the convocation should be permitted to act; and it should be remembered that there are some things which could not be properly settled in any other assembly. Some of them may be specified.

We may *first* consider the question of alterations in the *Liturgy*. The convocation is the only place where such a subject could be entertained; and the chief objection, with some persons, to the revival of its sessions is, the fear that the *Liturgy* might be tampered with. In my opinion the *Liturgy* must be preserved in its integrity, or the most serious consequences would ensue; but I have no apprehensions of danger on this head from the revival of the convocation.

Any material change in the *Liturgy* is out of the question. It could not, as I conceive, be attempted, even were any persons rash enough to introduce the subject, or so inconsistent as to wish it. The various differences, existing among the clergy on minor points, would act as a safeguard against any material change in the *Liturgy* of the Anglican Church. All would be anxious to preserve it unaltered; all would be unwilling to entertain the question of change, lest something which they themselves value should be recommended for alteration by others.

That the subject would now be calmly entertained, I am convinced. Never, indeed, was there a period when such a question could be introduced with a fairer prospect of harmony; for all the clergy fearing, if innovation should be commenced, that it could not be checked, and wishing to avoid change lest something might be relinquished which they would retain, would



concur in guarding this legacy from our Reformers with the utmost jealousy. Though, therefore, the question of alterations might be introduced, yet I am convinced that, from the causes already specified, the utmost extent to which the majority in either house would be inclined to go, would be to submit the Liturgy to the consideration of convocation, with a view simply and only to some few *verbal alterations*, the *correction of some obvious oversights at the last review*, and the *setting at rest some doubtful rubrics*. Beyond this, no man who loves the Church, and reveres the memory of the Reformers, would venture to proceed; and I am convinced, that to proceed further would be impossible, for our very divisions would tend to the preservation of our Formularies unaltered, except in those cases which have been specified. A few instances, by way of illustration, under each of these heads, may be mentioned.

With regard to *verbal alterations*. It is well known that some words have undergone a considerable change since our Liturgy was framed. In such cases the convocation might deem it desirable to substitute words, which would now convey to the common people the exact ideas which were intended by the compilers of our Book of Common Prayer. The word *precent*, in the sense of *going before*, and *let*, in the sense of *hindering*, are instances in point. To alter these and similar words, or any words not now commonly understood by the people, would be only following out the principle of the Reformers, who, in all their proceedings, ever specially regarded the poor and the ignorant. Such alterations involve no change of meaning. The *Liturgy* would remain in all its integrity. On this point, enlargement is unnecessary, since a very few words only would be changed.



*Obvious oversights at the last review* may next be specified. Let it be remembered, that the whole work was accomplished within the space of one month. Even during that month there were many days when nothing whatever was done in convocation. The time, therefore, was too short for the *revision*. It was necessary to accomplish it by a given period, but the consequence was, that some few points were overlooked. My remark applies to the rubrics. One instance, by way of illustration, will be sufficient. In the Book of Common Prayer, prior to the last review, there is the following direction: "*Item. So oft as the first Chapter of St. Matthew is read, either for Lesson or Gospel, yee shall begin the same at 'The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise.' And the third Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel shall be read unto, 'So that he was supposed to be the sonne of Joseph.'*" Now it is clear that this direction was overlooked in 1661; and what is the consequence? Few clergymen read the proper names in those chapters, and yet they have no authority for the omission. There are but few of what I designate *oversights*, but it is competent for convocation to correct them; nor could any man reasonably object to such a proceeding.

Under the third head, namely, the *Settlement of doubtful Rubrics and Directions*, there would confessedly be more difficulty. Still the difficulty might be overcome. It is evident, that some of the *rubrics* were intended to be open. These might still remain so. That, for instance, relative to the situation of the communion table, need not be altered; for though the place is not fixed by the *rubric*, it is now settled by long custom and usage; so that the most perfect uniformity is the consequence. Every clergyman, how-

ever, knows, that in some few particulars, there is a variety in our practice; one man adopting one interpretation of a *rubric*, another an opposite. These are matters, doubtless, of comparatively slight importance; but still, it is desirable, that our uniformity should be complete. Instances will occur to every clergyman. I shall only specify some few matters, which are not so obvious, or not generally understood.

I have already, in alluding to the *Apocryphal Lessons*, shown that the *Admonition*, prefixed to the *Second Book of Homilies*, is of no authority, and cannot honestly be pleaded by any one. The *Apocryphal Lessons* are settled by the *rubrics*, and do not fall under consideration in this discussion. But there are other matters, respecting which, differences of opinion exist, and yet *authority* is pleaded. Such is the question of *candles on the communion table*. In my opinion, the practice is a matter of indifference; and it would not have been noticed in this work, had not some persons, in the present day, pleaded authority in its favour. The authority alleged is the following *rubric*:—*And here it is to be noted, that such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.*

Now the question arises, what ornaments were sanctioned by parliament in the second year of King Edward? Some observations are necessary by way of explanation. Certain *Injunctions* were issued before the removal of altars from the churches, by which *two lights* were permitted to remain on the *high altar*:

"and shall suffer from henceforth no torches, nor candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only *two lights* upon the *high altar*.\*." During the next year, in Ridley's Visitation Articles, it is inquired, "Whether they suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other *light* to be in your churches, but only *two lights* upon the *high altar*†." The persons who plead the authority of the *rubric*, only use *candles unlighted*: whereas if any practice is authorized, it must be that of *lighted candles*. Taking their view of the *rubric*, it is violated as much by placing *unlighted candles* on the communion table as by the omission. Further, it should be remembered, that when the *Injunction* respecting *lights* was issued, communion tables were not in use, since altars still remained in all our churches. I cannot, therefore, conceive how the argument from the *Injunctions* bears at all upon the subject.

There is another question, too, which must never be overlooked in the consideration of this subject. The rubric authorized such things only as were appointed by act of parliament, in the second year of King Edward. Were *candles* and *candlesticks* ordered by act of parliament to be placed on the communion table?

But even taking the ground of the *Injunctions*, it is not certain that the *two lights* remained on the *high altar* during King Edward's second year. Edward succeeded to the throne January 28th, 1547. In certain articles intended for the visitors in a royal visitation, it is ordered, that the clergy, in reading the *Injunctions*, which were issued in Edward's *first* year, should omit all those parts which mention, "the popish

\* SPARROW'S Collection.

† Ibid.



mass, candles upon the altar, or any such like thing:" and in the same articles, it is expressly stated, that the clergy are to avoid "setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time." It cannot be ascertained whether these articles were issued at the end of the second year of King Edward, or at the commencement of the *third*. It is, however, certain, that if not in the *second*, they must have been set forth early in the *third*; and in either case they are conclusive against *lights upon the communion table*; and it is almost certain that the *lights* did not exist in the second year of King Edward.

I must, therefore, remind those who plead for the practice in question, that supposing the *rubric* to comprehend the *Injunctions*, by which *two lights* were authorized, which, however, is extremely uncertain, it cannot possibly be pleaded in favour of *candles unlighted*. On their own principle, they must place two *lighted candles*, or *two lights*, on the table: and surely they will not contend that such a practice is authorized by the Church. So again, if the *Injunction* is to be followed in this particular at all, it must be complied with strictly. Now it specifies that the *two lights* are to be set upon the *high altar*. We have no *altars* in our churches. *Tables* were substituted by our Reformers. In a very short time after the *Injunctions* were issued, *altars* were removed; and can it be supposed that the *two lights* were not removed with them? If, then, the *rubric* in question bears the interpretation, which the advocates for the practice put upon it, they must admit, that it is incumbent on them to set up *altars*, and to place on them, not *candles unlighted*, but *two lights*. The two things must stand or fall together, as far as the *rubric* is concerned. But there is no evidence



whatever, to show that lights were retained after altars were removed.

In my opinion, the practice is one of perfect indifference. I cannot discover anything *popish* in *two candlesticks* on our communion tables; but I am convinced, that the custom is unauthorized by the *rubrics*; and I am certain, that the Reformers did not intend to sanction it. This, then, would be a fair question for the consideration of convocation. It would be for them to ascertain what was intended by, or comprehended in, the *rubric*: and after due deliberation, they would come to a decision on the subject. Without commending or censuring the practice itself, the convocation might determine whether it was or was not comprehended in the *rubric*, and thus the question would be set at rest by authority.

A remark may be offered in this place on the use of the term *altar* as applied to the Communion Table. The term itself was rejected from our services at an early period of the Reformation; and the question naturally arises, is it wise to revive it? In a metaphorical sense, or as expressive of the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, I see no objection whatever to the use of the term in reference to the communion table; but it must not be forgotten, that the Church has not given her sanction to its adoption in any sense. It is, indeed, retained in the coronation service; but this *form* was never authorized by the Church, so that it is competent for our sovereigns to use the old form, or to appoint a new one, by virtue of the supremacy. The use of the term, therefore, in that service has nothing to do with the question: and though it was allowed by the canons of 1640, yet they are of no force, inasmuch as they were

especially excluded by act of parliament at the Restoration. Another practice may also be mentioned, which is a thing of trivial consequence in itself, but which is not authorized by the Church—namely, that of turning to the east when the Creed is repeated. The safer course is to follow the injunctions of the Church, without deviations on either side. But it may be questioned whether turning to the east, inasmuch as it is not prescribed by the Church, is not actually prohibited by the following clause in the Act of Uniformity:—"And be it further enacted, that no form or order of common prayers, administration of sacraments, *rites or ceremonies* shall be openly used in any church, chapel, or other public place, other than what is prescribed and appointed to be used in and by the said book." This clause, in my opinion, prohibits the use of any ceremony not actually prescribed; and though I view the use of the term *altar* and the practice of turning to the east as matters of perfect indifference in themselves, and as no more popish than the dissenting practices of sitting at what is termed the administration of the ordinance, and also in the act of singing, yet as neither is sanctioned by the Church, I cannot but conceive, at all events in times like the present, that it is more prudent to avoid them altogether.

The arrangement of our various services is a question which has given rise to differences of opinion, and in some cases to a difference in practice. It has been argued, that the Reformers intended the Communion Service to be used at a different time from the daily prayers. This assertion is often made by those, who wish to remodel the services of the Church; and many, who have no such wish, take it for granted, that the assertion is correct. It is, however, altogether erro-

neous. The services never were separated, nor were they ever intended to be so. From the period of the Reformation the Communion Service has succeeded the daily prayers, as is the custom at present. Undoubtedly, some of the clergy were accustomed to separate them in the time of Queen Elizabeth; but the practice was checked by the following injunction from Archbishop Grindal:—"The minister not to pause or stay between the Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion, but to continue and say Morning Prayer, Litany, Communion, or the service appointed to be said (when there was no communion) together, without any intermission; to the intent that the people might continue together in prayer, and hearing the word of God, and not depart out of the church during all the time of the whole divine service\*." From the various occasional forms published at a subsequent period, it is evident that the Daily Service and the Communion were always used together on Sundays and holy days; for in all these forms the two are printed as one complete service. As, however, the separation has even recently been practised, and not only practised but defended, the convocation could settle the matter by a simple declaration on the subject†.

\* STRYPE'S *Grindal*, 167.

† In the early period of the Reformation, some short interval elapsed after the close of the service before the celebration of the Communion. Thus an eminent ritualist observes—"It is very probable, though the assembly did not dissolve, yet was there such a ceasing and rest from sacred employments as might give the curate time in that interval, both to receive the names of such as intended to communicate, as also to admonish and, in case of obstinacy, to repel scandalous persons from that ordinance."—LE STRANGE'S *Alliance*, 163. The ambiguity was removed at the last review, when it was ordered that notice should be given the day before.



The only services which were formerly separated were the *Daily Morning Prayer* and the *Litany*. Until the last review, the *Litany* was read alone in some places: though I cannot conceive on what authority. The *rubric* was as follows:—"Here followeth the Litany, to be used upon Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and at other times when it shall be commanded by the ordinary." Now, the Morning and Evening Prayer were then, as now, enjoined to be used daily; so that the use of the Litany could not set aside another injunction. No one will pretend that the *Morning Prayer* was not to be used on Sundays; and the Litany was appointed to be used on Sundays also. The latter did not supersede the former; and the same argument will apply to Wednesdays and Fridays; so that there appears to have been no authority for the substitution of the Litany in the room of the *Morning Prayers*. Wheatly and others suppose, that it was said at a different time; but from the *rubric* in the Scotch Prayer Book in 1637, it is clear, that it was the practice with some persons to omit the morning service on Litany days. In that book the following words are added to the rubric: "*and without omission of any part of the other daily service of the Church on those days.*" Whether the Litany was intended to be said at a different time of the day is another question; but it is, I think, certain that the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer never contemplated that the Daily Service should be omitted. The question was, however, set at rest at the last review; and I notice it simply for the purpose of showing, that the alteration of the rubric, so as to leave it no longer doubtful whether the Litany should be said in addition to the Daily Service, was not a departure, as



some have contended, from the intentions of the compilers\*.

There are several *rubrics* which may admit of different interpretations, and which are differently interpreted by the clergy: and though the remedy in such cases is an appeal to the ordinary, who has authority to decide, yet it would be far better to have the matter settled by convocation.

With respect to the Liturgy, therefore, no consistent member of the Anglican Church would recommend alterations, beyond such as would fall under the three heads already specified, while the very fears of the clergy would be conservative, and tend to preserve it against innovation.

It is a source of thankfulness that no changes were effected in 1689, and in the reign of Queen Anne, when points would have been yielded which every sound Churchman must now have deplored. Though, therefore, I would not justify the proceedings of the lower house of convocation in 1689, or in subsequent years in the reign of Queen Anne, yet I frankly acknowledge that I am thankful, that the opposition was made to the upper house, for I am convinced, that it was overruled to the preservation of our Liturgy. In 1689, in 1700, and in subsequent years, when the disputes between the two houses were of a most painful character, the bishops were disposed to make concessions which could not be justified. I would not for a moment have

\* A somewhat singular permission was granted by the *First Book* of King Edward to substitute lessons in some cases for the Liturgy. Thus "also upon Christmas Daye, Easter Daye, the Ascension Daye, Whitsundaye, and the Feaste of the Trinity, may be used any part of Holy Scripture hereafter to be certaynly limited and appointed, in the steade of the *Litany*."

it supposed, that I consider that such men as Tillotson, Tennyson, Stillingfleet, and others, were indifferent on the subject; but I am convinced, that they attached too much importance to the objections of Dissenters, and that they imagined, that by making the required concessions, they would be gained over to the Church. In their anxiety to comprehend Dissenters, they were prepared to give offence to members of the Church by unwarrantable concessions. Had the changes been made the end would not have been attained; for the objectors would soon have entertained scruples on other points, while it would have been difficult, when once the example had been set, to have resisted any demands, however unreasonable. Thus the Liturgy might have been subjected to constant alterations. In consequence of the opposition of the lower house all this mischief was prevented; nor can I avoid the conclusion, that this feeling operated strongly on the minds of the majority. Their apprehensions, lest the bishops should go too far in one direction, might certainly have led them too far in another, but that good has resulted from the differences between the two houses is certain. Had the upper house succeeded in their schemes, changes would have been made, which we should have now regretted. We, therefore, are enjoying the benefits of that opposition. It was overruled for the welfare of the Church.

On this question, the views of the commissioners at the Savoy conference in 1661, were much more just than those of King William's commission in 1689. The former remark, in reply to the Presbyterians, "On the contrary, we judge that if the Liturgy should be altered as thus required, not only a multitude, but

the generality of the soberest and most loyal children of the Church of England would be justly offended, since such an alteration would be a virtual concession, that this Liturgy were an intolerable burden to tender consciences, a direct cause of schism, a superstitious usage, which would at once both justify all those who have so obstinately departed from it, as the only pious tender-conscienced men, and condemn all those who have adhered to that in conscience of their duty and loyalty, with their loss or hazard of estates, lives, and fortunes, as men superstitious, schismatical, and void of religion and conscience." This argument was too much lost sight of by the advocates of concession in 1689. Nor did they fully bear in mind that their concessions would have been a virtual acknowledgement, that the Reformers had imposed some things unadvisedly. Kennet's remark on the above extract is so just, that it is suited to all times as well as to the period when he wrote. "And, indeed, this was the most plausible objection in the convocation of 1689, when possibly the Liturgy altered would have given occasion for a new separation, upon grounds more popular than nonjuring or lay-deprivations\*."

Now, however, there would be no danger, either of a collision between the two houses, or of a desire on the part of any considerable number of the clergy to make any extensive changes in our formularies.

I do not mean to assert, that there are not persons among the clergy, who would individually desire alterations. Some, for instance, might wish to expunge the Athanasian Creed, others probably might desire the

\* KENNET'S *Register*, 574.



removal of other portions of the Liturgy, while the advocates of the *Tracts for the Times* would revive or restore certain passages respecting prayers for the dead, and the Eucharistic sacrifice, which were retained in the First Book of Common Prayer under King Edward; but the impossibility of altering, so as to give satisfaction to all, would induce the great body of the clergy to support any motion for the preservation of the Liturgy in its integrity.

With respect to the Articles, no one would touch them. They were framed when the Church was restored to her primitive state, and the convocation would never alter what the Reformers established as matters of doctrine.

But though no serious change would be contemplated in the Liturgy, there are other matters which would necessarily occupy the attention of a convocation. For example, a revision of our canons. Several of them are set aside by special acts of parliament; others, too, are superseded by the rubrics. Now, it would be desirable to revise the whole, and to omit all such as are repealed either by the laws of the land or the rubrics. They might be reduced within a smaller compass. So, whenever new statutes of an ecclesiastical character were required, they might be framed in convocation, which is certainly the proper place. The sanction of parliament could afterwards be obtained, and as the convocation would never interfere with any matters which were not strictly ecclesiastical, the confirmation by the legislature would not be withheld. It is not unreasonable to ask, that the Church should be permitted to make laws for her own government.

The question of *Psalmody*, too, is one, which would



of necessity fall under the consideration of a convocation, were that assembly permitted to act, nor can it be settled in any other place. This is one of the points on which there is no uniformity in our churches, almost every congregation having a particular collection of psalms and hymns, so that while in all other parts of divine service uniformity is preserved, in that of singing there is less of it than even among the Dissenters. The question should not be permitted to continue in such a state. No one can consider it desirable that there should be such a variety in our practice. The Church has never settled the matter, and therefore each clergyman settles it for himself. But were the convocation to meet for business, this subject is one of the first to which their attention would be directed. It would not be possible to avoid it. Nor would it be attended with much difficulty. A committee would be appointed to select, arrange, and prepare a book for general use in our churches. When thus prepared, it would be submitted to the whole convocation, and must pass both houses: so that in going through such an ordeal, there would be a very reasonable hope of obtaining an unobjectionable collection. It would then be duly authorized, and the clergy would be restrained from using any other book, or any other psalms and hymns. Thus our reproach would be wiped away, and the great principle of uniformity would be maintained.

This want of uniformity has often been expressed by individuals. In the year 1698 Luke Milbourne published a version of the Psalms, which he dedicated to the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, "especially such as now do, or hereafter may represent that whole body in convocation." The version of Sternhold and Hop-

kins was never duly authorized. At all events, no proof exists that it ever received the sanction of the council. To this fact Milbourne adds his testimony, in addition to that of Fuller and Heylin. "Nor could I ever," says he, "find any authentic allowance for singing them in public, whatsoever the company of Stationers pretend to, whose plausible title had a regard to their own profit, more than the Church's edification.

He alludes too to the fact that no version was duly authorized: "Since our convocations, to whom that work properly belongs, never took any such cognizance of the ancient versions as to recommend them with the Liturgy, our common psalmody remains a matter of liberty." Alluding to the uniformity which, it might be supposed, is as desirable in one part of public worship as another, the same author says, "If it be a part of divine service, how comes it to pass that our ecclesiastical representatives have not thought uniformity in singing of psalms as beautiful and as valuable as in any other part of the public service? Why not in the *Poetical* as well as in the *Prose Version*?" I proceed to quote from the same writer, because his views coincide exactly with my own on the subject: he adds, "And though it might seem a very hard work, which few of the clergy durst undertake, yet, since at this time there are several versions of the Psalms extant, why may not some one, or a choice collection out of all, be made by learned and judicious persons, appointed for that purpose in a convocation?" After stating some particulars as to the mode of accomplishing the work, he says, "And may not these, after such an examination, be approved by the convocation,

as the whole Liturgy formerly was?" He then remarks, that it is such a point of uniformity, that all Churches except our own concur in it; instancing the Scotch, the French, and the Dutch\*. The only authority possessed by any version of Psalms is that of the king in council, an authority, however, which was probably never granted to the version of Sternhold and Hopkins. Several versions have indeed at various periods been thus sanctioned, but none of them, with the exception of that by Tate and Brady, are now used in our churches. On every account, therefore, it is desirable that the question should be settled in convocation, and that the almost infinite variety observable in our churches should no longer continue†.

It has been shown in the preceding pages, that we have no authorized *Form* for the consecration of churches. On two occasions a *Form* has received a kind of sanction from one house of convocation, but still the business was not completed. It would be, therefore, a desirable work to prepare and authorize a *Service*. The convocation might adopt that of 1712. At all events, it would be consistent that our bishops should not be left to their own discretion in this matter, any more than in the other services which

\* *The Psalms of David in English Metre; Translated from the Original.* By LUKE MILBOURNE, a *Presbyter of the Church of England.* London: 1698.

† This question is discussed at some length in *Observations on certain Statements advanced by the Venerable the Archdeacon of Bath, respecting one of the Sacramental Rubrics, and the question of Parochial Psalmody.* London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1839. In the second part of this pamphlet the state of the question is fully discussed, and a brief account is given of all those versions which have ever been sanctioned by royal authority.



are peculiar to the episcopal office, such as *Confirmation*, and the *Ordering of Priests and Deacons*. Undoubtedly it is a proper subject for the consideration of convocation.

Every one is aware of the difficulty, under present circumstances, of enforcing obedience to the rubrics and canons. It is well known, that there are many deviations in practice which cannot be justified, but which are a violation of the engagements entered into by the clergy at their ordination. In the case of curates, indeed, the license may be withdrawn on any irregularity being made known to the bishop, but with incumbents there is much difficulty. Now, it would be easy for the convocation to frame laws for the proper enforcement of obedience. A clergyman is pledged to comply with the directions of the Church, as expressed in her Liturgy and canons. Those who deviate from the rule break a solemn engagement. They are dissenters without the honesty of dissenters, for they pretend to remain in the Church while they violate her rules. The observation will also apply to those who introduce practices not enjoined by the Church. A rule is laid down; and those who come not up to it are dissenters on one side, while those who go beyond it are dissenters on the other; or to adopt the language of Stillingfleet, "He is as much a dissenter from the Church of England who goes beyond the rule, as he who does not come up to it." The matter might easily be settled in convocation. Let rules be framed, and let powers be granted to the diocesan to enforce them, and those men who forget their solemn obligations, and alter or omit portions of the Liturgy or change the appointed Lessons, would soon be reduced to confor-



mity, when it became clear that the alternative must be *conformity or removal from their benefices*.

It is admitted on all hands, that as the Church is extended among our population, the number of bishops as well as of the clergy should be increased. If dioceses cannot conveniently be divided, the order of suffragan bishops might be revived with great advantage to the Church. By the law of the land the bishop of any diocese may recommend two persons to the Crown, and the Crown may make the selection of one to act as his coadjutor. But as the order has long since fallen into disuse, it would be desirable that the whole matter should be submitted to convocation, with a view to the revival of the practice. As the question is one of considerable interest, and must necessarily, under our present circumstances, come under the consideration of convocation, if the Crown should see fit to authorize it to act, I may touch upon a few topics connected with its history.

In ancient times there was an order of bishops called *chorepiscopi*, who acted as assistants or coadjutors to the bishops of dioceses. They were, generally, placed in the largest villages. Originally they were intended to supply the place of aged and infirm bishops, in conferring orders and in administering confirmation; but they had no jurisdiction, and could only act by a commission from the bishop of the diocese. They existed from the first Nicene Council to the middle of the ninth century, when the order was gradually abolished by the influence of the popes, who did not find the *chorepiscopi* disposed to promote their views of aggrandizement. Other persons were, therefore, invested with the same powers, though under the name of suffragans; who, in

most cases, were appointed by the pope himself. Their duty was the same as that of the *chorepiscopi*, or bishops of the country, namely, to assist the diocesan in consecrating churches, in ordaining priests and deacons, and in supplying the place of the bishop on all occasions, when, from various causes, he might be unable to be present. A commission from the diocesan, however, was necessary to authorize them to act, since, by the laws of the Church, no bishop can perform any episcopal act in the see of another without permission. In England, it appears, that the order of *suffragan* bishops was instituted in the time of William the Conqueror: and, until the reign of Henry VIII., they were usually appointed by the pope. Originally they took their titles from places "*in partibus infidelium*," that is, places where the bishops could not remain with safety, though there were fixed sees in them. They were bishops at large, or titular bishops, but their office was identical with that of the *chorepiscopi*, though some of the duties of the latter were performed at a subsequent period by the bishop's chancellor. No change occurred until the 26th of Henry VIII., when an act was passed, by which *suffragan* bishops were permitted, under certain restrictions. The names of certain towns and villages were also specified, from which the *suffragans* were to derive their titles; so that they were now constituted *chorepiscopi* as formerly. On Queen Mary's accession the statute was repealed: but it was revived in the reign of Elizabeth\*.

\* The following places are specified in the act as the *sees* or residences of *suffragans*. Bridgewater, Taunton, Bristol, Dover, Penrith, Shrewsbury, Berwick, Cambridge, St. Germans, Gloucester, Bedford, Grantham, Huntingdon, Leicester, Colchester, Ipswich, Thetford, Marlborough, Molton, Shaftsbury, Guildford, Southampton, Hull, Nottingham, and

The following extracts from the act of parliament will show the intention of those by whom it was framed. After specifying the places, the act declares that they "shall be taken and accepted for sees of bishops suffragans to be made in this realm, and the bishops of such sees shall be called suffragans of this realm. And that every archbishop and bishop, being disposed to have any suffragans, shall and may at their liberties name and elect, every one of them for their peculiar diocese, two honest and discreet spiritual persons, and those two persons, so by them to be named, shall present to the king's highness, making humble request to his Majesty, to give to one such of the said two persons as shall please his Majesty, such title, name, stile, and dignity of bishop of such of the sees above specified, as the king's highness shall think most convenient for the same." It is added, "and that every such person shall be called bishop suffragan of the same see whereunto he shall be named." The act further provides for his consecration by the archbishop of the province in the ordinary way. In order that no inconvenience might arise in the exercise of episcopal authority, and to prevent strife or jealousy, it was ordered, that the suffragan should not exercise any jurisdiction, except with the consent and by the appointment of the diocesan. Nor was the authority to be exercised longer than was permitted by the bishop.

From the above extracts it is clear, that the king was at liberty to give the suffragan any one of the

the Isle of Wight. Since that time Bristol and Gloucester have been created sees. Recently, however, they have been united: so that by the act in question, reckoning Bristol and Gloucester, there are *twenty-four* places, in which suffragan bishops may be appointed.



titles mentioned in the act, without being confined to places within the diocese, in which he was to exercise authority. Thus the Bishop of London had a suffragan, at that time, with the title of Suffragan of Bedford. Still the more general practice was to grant a title from a place in the diocese.

It is obvious, that the order might be revived with great advantage to the Church: and it is clear from the act, by which suffragans are authorized, that no possible inconvenience or discomfort could arise to the diocesan, seeing that all the authority is vested in himself. The subject, therefore, is one which might be submitted to convocation: for though the act of parliament authorizes the appointment, yet as more than three centuries have elapsed since it was enacted, and more than two since any suffragan was appointed, there are necessarily many matters which it might be desirable to review. If only one were appointed in each diocese, what incalculable good might result to the Church. The suffragan might also perform those duties which are now discharged by the chancellor of the diocese. The office is fully recognized by the canons of 1604, for it is appointed, that "every bishop or his suffragan do in his own person carefully perform the office of confirmation:" and Charles II., in his declaration in 1660, says, "Because the dioceses be thought to be of too large extent, we will appoint such a number of suffragan bishops in every diocese as shall be sufficient for the due performance of their work." It would be easy to constitute suffragans wherever they might be required: and as the individuals selected for the office would not be expected to live in a style beyond that of ordinary clergymen, the additional expenses incurred by travel-



ling would be comparatively small. At all events the suffragan might be permitted to hold a second living, with a view to the defraying of the necessary expense: or a stall, or some preferment in each cathedral, might be devoted to that purpose. These and similar points might be considered in convocation, who would devote to them that attention, which their importance and the circumstances of the Church require.

In a work already alluded to, the following remarks occur on the same subject. Speaking of the extent of our dioceses, the author says, "Now suffragans would go a great way towards a redress of the grievance: each of present *bishops* would then be a sort of *archbishop*: and our two *archbishops* would then be *patriarchs*. The large extent of our dioceses could no longer be then complained of: nor the incapacity, which the bishop thence lies under, of acquainting himself much, either with his clergy or his people\*."

It may be mentioned, that according to Mr. Wharton, twenty-eight suffragan bishops were appointed between the year 1312 and the period of the passing of the Act of King Henry VIII. In the reign of Elizabeth, we meet with several: and one in that of James I., since which time the office has fallen into disuse. To revive it would be perfectly easy: and to enable the convocation to make the necessary alterations in the machinery, by which <sup>new</sup> suffragans are appointed, requires only the permission of the Crown†.

\* *Penitential Discipline*, 245.

† GIBSON'S *Codex*, 155—157., *App.*, 9, 10, 11. GREY'S *Ecclesiastical Law*, 39, 40. NELSON'S *Rights of the Clergy*, 121, 122, 123. BARLOW'S *Remains*, 160. BRETT'S *Account of Church Government*, chap. xii., second edition. — The whole chapter in Brett is most valuable.

A distinction, it will be seen, must be made between the *order* of suffragan bishops, of which we have been speaking, and the suffragans of the two archbishops: for all the bishops of a province are the suffragans of the metropolitan. In ancient times, the bishops met in council at the command of the archbishop, whose suffragans they were called, because they met by his appointment, to give their vote or suffrage.

In some cases, too, it may be desirable that dioceses should be divided. Not a few of them are of very large extent,—so large, or so populous, that no single bishop can possibly superintend them as they should be superintended. Visitations and confirmations must be held frequently, if the intercourse between the bishop and his flock is to be kept up: and in the latter case, it would be well if the youth of every parish could be confirmed in their own church. This is impracticable, under the present system: yet nothing would tend more to advance the interests of the Church, than the presence of the bishop, every year, or every second year, according to the amount of population, in every parish. The object may be attained either by the appointment of suffragans, or by the division of dioceses. Were a diocese to be divided under present circumstances, the arrangements would be carried into effect by the ecclesiastical commissioners: but without implying any reflection on that body, I must contend, that all such matters should be arranged in convocation. This plan could be adopted with the permission of the Crown.

On the question of the division of dioceses, and the appointment of suffragans, I feel great pleasure in quoting the following admirable remarks, from an eminent writer of the last century. Alluding to some

topics discussed in convocation, in the early part of the last century, relative to excommunication and the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, he remarks, "It is evident, at first sight, how greatly the establishment of these two points would improve and invigorate the discipline of the Church: but it is as evident, that we must not hope to see, either the discipline or the government of our Church in a complete and perfect state, as long as the several districts to be inspected and visited, remain, in many instances, so unreasonably large. A just sense of which evil has made it the wish of wise and good men, that a further division of dioceses, in places where it shall be found necessary, were seriously attempted and entered upon: and if this remedy, however the most natural and most effectual, is not to be obtained, that the evil might be at least mitigated by the appointment of suffragan bishops, according to the statute of King Henry VIII., which still remains in its full force and authority\*."

All these questions, and many others, which cannot be specified in this work, would be proper subjects for consideration with a convocation: and I conceive, too, that the only appropriate place for their consideration would be a convocation. It would be easy for the Crown to dictate to that body the subjects for discussion and settlement: and as the law stands, no question could be entertained without its concurrence. In short, the minister of the Crown, who would of course consult the heads of the Church, would recommend such measures as the circumstances of the Church might require. The enemies of the Church not seldom reproach her as the creature of the state. Surely she

\* GIBSON'S *Visitation Charges*, pref. xi., xii.



ought to be permitted by the state to exercise that authority, which of right belongs to her, and which was always, in all ages, recognised as her just privilege.

Under our present circumstances, I would, therefore, earnestly implore the government, to restore to the Church those synodical rights which have not been exercised for more than a century. The convocation, however opposed to the views of any particular government, could not thwart its measures, since the Crown has always the power in its own hands, to adjourn or prorogue them,—in fact to stop their proceedings altogether. In recommending this step to the responsible advisers of the Crown, I do not mean to imply, that the convocation should be permitted to transact business every session of parliament, but only when the circumstances of the Church demand it. Within the last twenty years, many ecclesiastical measures have been carried into effect, which were proper subjects for the convocation. Whenever, therefore, any other ecclesiastical arrangements are necessary, I would suggest that the minister of the Crown should recommend a royal license to authorize the convocation to act. When settled in that assembly, they would be submitted to the Crown: and in case the government deemed it necessary to suggest alterations or additions, the matter could be reconsidered in the ecclesiastical synod. Of course I allude only to such questions as would fall appropriately under the cognizance of that body.

Let it be remembered, also, that all questions affecting the welfare of the Church would receive the fullest consideration. No proposal could be carried into effect until it had been sanctioned by the two houses of convocation, and confirmed by the Crown. It is most



unlikely, therefore, that any measure would be carried which did not commend itself to the judgment of unprejudiced men, as well amongst the laity as amongst the clergy. At all events, let the experiment be tried. Let the convocation be assembled; and let some subject be proposed for deliberation. The machinery is complete. Each diocese would send its proctors, who would be elected by the incumbents; so that the clergy of the land would be fairly represented. That they should have a voice in framing laws for the Church is only reasonable.

Were her Majesty's government to permit the convocation to transact business, it would tend to the strengthening of our Church, and to the promotion of her usefulness among the people. Many plans would be recommended; much information would be procured; various schemes would be devised; and, through the mutual intercourse between the bishops and clergy assembled in their convocation, the state of the Church in every parish might be fully ascertained. The minister who should undertake to advise the Crown to grant the necessary license, would confer a boon upon the Church and the country, which would never be forgotten, and which would cause his name to be remembered with gratitude by posterity. My object, in this chapter, has been merely to throw out a few hints for consideration, and though my opinion, in such a matter, may be of no value whatever, yet I cannot but indulge the hope, that the question will be taken up by others. Were the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, to express themselves in favour of a restoration of the powers of the convocation, I am convinced that their representation would be calmly and fully

considered by her Majesty's government. Unless, indeed, the bishops themselves call upon the government to act, it is not to be expected that any minister, of his own impulse, should venture to advise the Crown on the subject; but let his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of the kingdom, concur in an address to the throne on the subject, and it is certain that the boon would not be denied. I speak thus positively, because I am convinced that no sufficient reason could be adduced against the revival of the powers of the convocation. Even should the experiment fail, the remedy is with the Crown; for, in the event of a collision between the two houses, which is most unlikely, or an attempt to carry measures which, in the estimation of the government, might be unadvisable, their labours might be suspended by a prorogation. With respect to my own views, I will only say, that they are advanced after much careful investigation of the subject; and though objections may easily be raised against any plan, by whomsoever proposed, yet I will venture to assert, that no member of our Anglican Church, who fully understands her constitution and is acquainted with her history, can deny that our position without a convocation, in which alone the Church can authoritatively speak, is most anomalous.

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